

THE MONASTERY OF LIPS AND THE BURIALS OF THE PALAEOLOGI
THEODORE MACRIDY

PREFACE

THE frequent fires that have caused such terrible destruction in Constantinople have, in some respects, facilitated archaeological investigation and the study of Byzantine monuments. As is well known, the Byzantine churches that had been converted into mosques usually stood tightly surrounded by wooden houses in the center of labyrinthine Turkish quarters. Following the disappearance of these obstructing houses, many Byzantine monuments have emerged as isolated ruins in the midst of wide open spaces.

This has been the case with the Monastery of Lips to which the Empress Theodora added towards the end of the thirteenth century the church of the Prodomos, intended as a mausoleum for herself and the family of the Palaeologi. As a result of the terrible fire of 1917 which reduced to ashes nearly a quarter of the city, the skeleton of the two contiguous churches (Fenari Isa Camii) now rises as an imposing ruin in the middle of the deserted plain of Etmeydan,¹ in the valley of the Lycus, at a distance of 670 m. southwest of the Fatih mosque, at one time the famous church of the Holy Apostles (fig. 1).

It appears that after the Turkish conquest the complex of the two churches remained for some time in the hands of Christians, and that it was converted, towards the end of the fifteenth century,² into a *mescid*³ by Alaeddin Ali of the Fenari family who died and was buried at Bursa in the year 902 of the Hegira (A.D. 1496). The conversion affected only the south church of the Prodomos, in the apse of which the Turks put up a *mihrab*; they also erected a minaret at the southwest corner of the exonarthex. Otherwise, they did not introduce any significant changes in the interior of the church. The columns supporting the Byzantine arches remained untouched as also the rich decoration of the walls and the mosaic pavement. The Mohammedans were content to white-wash the mosaics, the icons and the remainder of the mural decoration, as also happened in Kariye Camii.

The building remained in this condition for about 140 years when, on the 27th of the month Sefer of the year of the Hegira 1043 (1633) there broke out a terrible conflagration that destroyed nearly half of the city. The attempts on the part of the Sultan who was himself present at the fire, of the Grand

¹ Literally "Meat Square." It was in this plain that meat rations used to be distributed to the Janissaries whose principal barracks were situated 50 m. southeast of the mosque.

² Seid Ali, *Hadikat-ül-djevami*, Istanbul, H. 1281 (1865), p. 157 (in Turkish); J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, XVIII (Paris, 1843), p. 32, No. 329.

³ I.e., a mosque without a pulpit in which formal prayers are not conducted on Fridays and other feast days.

Vizier, and of the Janissaries to check the calamity remained fruitless. The Turkish historian Naima⁴ records that the Janissaries stood by as spectators of the destruction of their big barracks, situated near the church, and were unable to offer any assistance.

Three years later, in 1636, the Grand Vizier Bayram Paşa restored the *mescid* and made radical architectural changes in it.⁵ The Byzantine columns, perhaps because they had been damaged by fire, were removed and replaced by great pointed arches (fig. 46). The domes were rebuilt with rectangular framed windows (fig. 3) and the entire building was covered with a tiled wooden roof instead of the old lead one. In the interior of the churches, too, the Turks introduced certain changes which, however, were not very drastic (fig. 8).

The whole interior surface of the walls and of the vaults was carefully scraped down to the brick, and the fragments of the decoration, mosaic and otherwise, were left where they fell. The floor of the mosque was raised in this fashion by 80 cm., so that the marble bases of the Byzantine columns remained buried under it. The walls and the vaults were then covered with a thick layer of plaster which completely concealed the carved ornament and the capitals (fig. 10). The exterior of the building was covered with a similar coating which we took care to remove.

For twelve years after the fire of 1917 the mosque of Fenari Isa remained derelict. It was seldom visited by tourists, standing as it did in an uninhabited area which was, moreover, frequented by the criminal segment of the local population. In May 1928, at the instigation of my colleague at the Istanbul Museum, Süleyman Hikmet, I visited the spot in the company of my distinguished friend Stanley Casson. Both of us recognized the necessity of studying the building in a scientific manner and of removing the layers of plaster that covered its walls. Unfortunately, the budget of the Museum was not sufficient to meet more than half of the necessary expense, but Mr. Casson was able to supply the remainder by eliciting generous donations from several persons and, in particular, from Mr. George Evmorfopoulos. To these gentlemen, and to all others who have helped me in this task, I should like to express my sincerest thanks.

HISTORY OF THE MONASTERY OF LIPS

Fenari Isa Camii, first mentioned in modern literature by the Patriarch Constantius,⁶ has been generally known as the Monastery of the Panachrantos. This name derives from the epithet of the Virgin which occurs in an epigram carved on a narrow marble cornice on the exterior of the north church. The letters were originally of lead and were fitted into the grooves cut in the

⁴ *History* (in Turkish) (Istanbul, H. 1282), III, p. 158.

⁵ In so doing, Bayram Paşa converted the *mescid* into a regular mosque which he provided with a pulpit (*mimber*) and a preacher (*hatip*) to conduct the Friday prayers. On the wooden *mimber* was carved an epigram in ten verses a copy of which is preserved in the *divan* of the poet Djevheri of the year 1644 (Library of Essad Efendi at Istanbul, No. 2619). The last verse of the epigram is a chronogram: by adding up the numerical value of the letters one obtains the date H. 1046 (1636).

⁶ *Constantiniade, ou description de Constantinople ancienne et moderne* (Constantinople, 1861), p. 101 f.

marble. Only a few verses of the epigram have been preserved; they are in dactylic hexameters. The text is as follows:⁷

.... πόθου †
μητρὶ θεοῦ νεῶν περικαλλέα Κωνστα
..... ον ὄλβιον ἔργον
οὐρανίων φαέων οἰκήτορα καὶ πολιοῦχον
τὸν δεῖξον, πανάχραντε, προαίρεσιν ἀντιμετροῦσα
ναὸς τὸ δῶρον ὦμ
.....

Skarlatos Byzantios says nothing about our church. A detailed description of it is given by Paspates⁸ who, however, appears to confuse it with the Monastery of the Panachrantos that stood close to St. Sophia. Later on, the church was discussed by Pulgher,⁹ Mordtmann,¹⁰ Van Millingen,¹¹ Ebersolt and Thiers,¹² and finally by N. Brunov.¹³ All of these scholars have, on the basis of Byzantine texts, come to the conclusion that the north church belonged to the monastery built by Constantine Lips, a dignitary at the court of Leo VI and of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Today there can be no doubt concerning this. The only consideration which, in our opinion, has not been taken sufficiently into account is that Cedrenus speaks of "the monastery that had been *restored* by him near the Holy Apostles."¹⁴

Consequently, Constantine Lips repaired the church, as was already conjectured by Paspates, and as we ourselves were able to ascertain after the excavations. He was, however, according to Byzantine practice, called the founder. Otherwise, it would be difficult to suppose that a church of such size could have been built from the foundations and completed within seven years, a conclusion that follows from a text of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.¹⁵ The “protospatharios Constantine Lips, keeper of the imperial plate” first appears in history in 901 when he, instead of the eunuch Sinoutis, was sent by imperial order to the country of Taron, in order to bring to Constantinople Asotios, the illegitimate son of the prince Krikorikios. Subsequently, Constantine Lips three times undertook the same journey from Constantinople to the land of Taron to accompany first Apoganem (brother of Krikorikios) and his two cousins, and then Krikorikios himself. The same Apoganem was allowed by

⁷ [For further discussion of the inscription, see *infra*, p. 300 f.]

⁸ Βυζαντινὰι μελέται (Constantinople, 1877), p. 322 ff.

⁹ *Les anciennes églises byzantines de Constantinople* (Vienna, 1878), p. 26; Album (1880), pl. xi.

¹⁰ *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille, 1892), p. 71 f.

¹¹ *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), p. 122 ff.

¹² *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), p. 211 ff.; pl. XLIX ff.

¹³ "L'église à croix inscrite à cinq nefs dans l'architecture byzantine," *Echos d'Orient*, XXVI (1927), p. 265 ff. [See further: Brunov in *Rev. des ét. grecques*, XXXIX (1926), p. 3 ff.; *id.* in *Belvedere*, IX/X (1926), p. 217 ff.; *id.* in *BZ*, XXVII (1927), p. 65; J. Ebersolt, *Monuments d'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1934), p. 166 f., who raises unnecessary doubts about the identity of the church; J. Kollwitz in *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLII (1934), pp. 239 f., 243 ff.; A. M. Schneider, *Byzanz* (Berlin, 1936), p. 61 f.; N. Brunov in *Vizant. Vremennik*, N. S., II (1949), p. 160 ff.; R. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I/3, *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), p. 318 ff.].

¹⁴ Bonn ed., II, p. 266.

¹⁵ [Macridy's treatment of Constantine Lips is not sufficiently accurate: see *infra*, p. 299 f.]

the emperor to marry Constantine's daughter.¹⁶ In June 908 the Emperor Leo VI was invited by Constantine Lips, who was now drungarius of the fleet, to his monastery, "which was at Mardosangares," to celebrate its dedication.¹⁷ In 913 Constantine Lips took an active part in the conspiracy of Constantine Ducas. Following the failure of this plot he saved himself by flight together with the asecretis Nicetas.¹⁸ Finally, on the 20th of August 917 he fell in battle during the defeat of the Byzantine army by the Bulgarians on the river Acheloiis.¹⁹

It appears from the above that the public career of Constantine Lips extended over a period of sixteen active years which could hardly have allowed him much leisure for big building projects. This leads us to believe, in agreement with Cedrenus, that Constantine Lips simply restored an existing monastery. The question that now arises is this: which was this monastery? On this score the Byzantine sources are silent, nor have our excavations provided any evidence for an identification. We are, therefore, obliged to content ourselves with hypotheses.

Skarlatos Byzantios, who by mistake places the Monastery of Lips in a different part of Constantinople, raises the question whether "it was the same as the one called *tou Liba*, next to the place called *ta Dagatou*, where there was a church of St. Julian ... in which case Constantine Lips was not the first founder of the church, inasmuch as before him we hear of Urbicius, either the praepositus who lived under Constantine the Great, or, more probably, the ex-consul ... who built at this spot ... a church of the Virgin at the time of Anastasius I."²⁰ The name *tou Liba* appears also in the Life of St. Nicholas Studites (d. 868). A friend of the Saint's bought for him a plot of ground "inside the city, close to the district of *tou Liba*."²¹ In commenting on this passage, Delehayé is unwilling to admit that the Monastery of Lips was earlier than the reign of Leo VI. In the first place, he is not certain whether the place called *tou Liba* was the same as that called *tou Libos*; secondly, he points out that the author of the Life of Nicholas Studites was writing *ca.* 925, and could thus have used a contemporary topographical indication that had been unknown fifty years previously.²²

We would have accepted this conclusion if we did not find ourselves before a church earlier than the reign of Leo VI, a church that was restored by Constantine Lips. As for the name *tou Liba*, our personal opinion is that it denoted the same place as *tou Libos*, being simply the popular form of the genitive. This name must have been applied to a district containing the house or estate

¹⁶ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, chap. 43 [Ed. Moravcsik—Jenkins (Budapest, 1949), p. 190ff.].

¹⁷ Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., p. 371; Pseudo-Symeon, *ibid.*, p. 709f.; Georgius Monachus, *ibid.*, p. 866; Leo Grammaticus, Bonn ed., p. 280.

¹⁸ Theoph. Cont., p. 384; Georgius Monachus, p. 877; Leo Grammaticus, p. 291.

¹⁹ Theoph. Cont., p. 389.

²⁰ Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, I (Athens, 1851), p. 377.

²¹ PG, 105, col. 909C.

²² *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), p. 174. [See also Delehayé in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVIII (1920), p. 388ff. On the districts *ta Libos*, *ta Liba* (surely the same), Mardosagaris (the spelling varies), Dagouta (or *ta Dagatou*), see R. Janin in *Mémorial Louis Petit* (Bucarest, 1948), p. 225ff.].

of a person who was probably a native of Libya, the ancestor of Constantine Lips, the well-known dignitary.²³

We may suppose that the family of Lips resided in Constantinople from early times and gave its name to this quarter. There stood at this spot a church of St. Julian,²⁴ said to have been built by a eunuch Urbicius who was in charge of constructions at the time of Constantine the Great.²⁵ In this church the Emperor Anastasius I is alleged to have learnt his alphabet when he came as a child from Dyrrhachium; later he dedicated to it an icon of the archangel Michael.²⁶ Furthermore, we know of a district called *ta Ourbikiou* which, we may assume, adjoined the district of Lips. Concerning the former, the *Patria* of Constantinople tells us that "St. Mary *ta Ourbikiou* was built 180 years after the construction of Constantinople by another Urbicius, patrician and general of the East, who was not a eunuch; he wrote military history in the days of Anastasius Dikoros [i.e., Anastasius I]."²⁷

It seems quite likely that Constantine Lips restored the latter church which was situated near his own district. Both the church of Urbicius and the *katholikon* of the monastery of Lips were dedicated to the Virgin. Our excavations have shown that the church which Constantine Lips restored was of the sixth century; this agrees with the date given by the *Patria* (180 years after the construction of Constantinople = A.D. 510). Furthermore, it appears from the Synaxaria that the church of Urbicius was among the most important of Constantinople: the ceremonial service for the birthday of the Virgin was celebrated there as well as in St. Sophia and St. Mary of the Chalkoprateia.²⁸ Now, we know that at a later date the same service was performed in the Monastery of Lips and was attended by the emperor, as laid down in the protocol of the Byzantine court.²⁹ The emperor's attendance and the importance of this celebration as affecting the north church of the monastery are further confirmed by the typicon composed by the Empress Theodora at the end of the thirteenth or the very beginning of the fourteenth century.³⁰ Lastly, we may note that, according to the Synaxaria, "the patriarch goes down to the venerable church of the Holy Theotokos in the district of Urbicius for the dedication feast of that church."³¹ The expression "goes down" (κατέρχεται) suggests that the district of Urbicius was situated at a lower level than the Patriarchate; this is true of the Monastery of Lips, which stands in the valley of the Lycus, i.e., about 30 m. lower than St. Sophia.

The above considerations confirm our view that Constantine Lips restored St. Mary of Urbicius. Indeed, it may be argued that this was none other than

²³ According to the Byzantine chroniclers (references in note 17 *supra*), Constantine Lips was so named because a violent southwest wind (λίψ, mod. Gr. λίβας) blew on the day when his monastery was dedicated. This fanciful derivation is surely unacceptable.

²⁴ *Synax. eccles. CP (Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Nov.)*, ed. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902), col. 748.

²⁵ *Script. orig. CP*, ed. by Preger, II, p. 216, 6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 236, 52.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 220, 22.

²⁸ *Synax. eccles. CP*, col. 302.

²⁹ Codinus, *De officiis*, Bonn ed., f. 8c.

³⁰ Delehaye, *Deux typica*, p. 128.

³¹ *Synax. eccles. CP*, col. 125.

the church of St. Julian, originally built by the eunuch Urbicius in the fourth century and converted into a church of the Virgin by the other Urbicius in the reign of Anastasius I.³²

The church of the Virgin, rebuilt by Constantine Lips early in the tenth century, remained in obscurity until the end of the thirteenth century, when the Empress Theodora, wife of Michael VIII, restored it once more and added to it the church of St. John the Baptist which was to serve as a mausoleum for herself and her family. It appears that Theodora chose this church because of its proximity to that of the Holy Apostles. During the Latin occupation the imperial mausolea at the church of the Holy Apostles were profaned and destroyed with the result that the Empress Theodora could not make use of them. She accordingly founded a new mausoleum not far distant from the old ones. Here, as we shall see, were buried: Theodora herself, her son the Emperor Andronicus II, her daughter Eudocia, wife of the Emperor John of Trebizond, her mother, Irene, first wife of Andronicus III, the Russian Anna, wife of John VIII, as well as a great number of other members of the family down to the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCHES

The *katholikon* of the monastery is a complex of two connecting churches, of which the northern one, a five-aisled cross-in-square structure, goes back to the sixth century and was restored early in the tenth by Constantine Lips; whereas the south church, which is of the same architectural type, was built by the Empress Theodora at the end of the thirteenth century. At a later date was added the perambulatory which extends in the form of an exonarthex in front of both churches and along the south side of the more recent church (fig. 5). This addition was made to afford more space for the burial of the descendents of the Empress Theodora.

1. *The Church of the Virgin*

The more ancient of the two churches is a rare and splendid example of Byzantine architecture. The length of the nave is 14.50 m., its width 9.50 m. To the latter figure should be added the width of the two outside aisles, of which the northern one has been destroyed, although its foundations were found in the course of our excavations (fig. 27), whereas the southern one was incorporated into the more recent church of St. John the Baptist. The total width would thus have been 13.50 m.

The narthex, which has three doors corresponding to those of the nave, is 9.50 m. long and 3.20 m. wide. On either end of it was a square, tower-like structure (each side measuring 3.20 m.), communicating with the narthex and projecting 1.20 m. beyond the outer wall of the church. These structures had

³² The discovery of certain fragments of sculpture (reproduced in fig. 30) which, in our opinion, are of the Constantinian period may serve to confirm this hypothesis.

doors facing east and west, the former leading into the interior of the church, the latter leading out. Within these structures (the northern one is no longer in existence) were wooden staircases leading up to the roof.

The interior height of the church from the floor to the base of the dome is 11.50 m.

From the architectural standpoint both churches have been adequately studied before us by Pulgher, Van Millingen, Ebersolt, Thiers, and Brunov, so that we need not take up this subject again. We shall concern ourselves instead with the carved decoration of the interior and the tombs whose existence was unknown before our excavations.

The central door of the nave was decorated with a lintel of green Thessalian marble of which we found nearly all the fragments (fig. 14). The upper band of the lintel was decorated with three monograms, each placed within a disc, and separated from the next one by a cross. The monograms (fig. 15) read Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ. The lintel is clearly of tenth-century date.

In the nave we found, under the Turkish floor, three of the four bases pertaining to the columns which originally supported the arches carrying the dome. Of the original dome—the present one, as we have said, is Turkish—there remains today only the marble cornice with rich decoration in relief. It is in relatively good condition (fig. 16). A few fragments that fell to the ground as a result of the last fire (fig. 17) have enabled us to make a complete restoration of this cornice (fig. 18).

Four capitals,³³ characteristic of the sixth century, surmount the pilasters corresponding to the four free-standing columns (figs. 11, 12, 13). In our opinion there can be no doubt that the architect of the tenth century took this decorative material from the sixth-century church. In the right-hand corner of one of the capitals are six holes that were bored for the attachment of a fragment that had broken off.

Between the pilasters on the north and south sides of the nave are two big openings 3.50 m. wide. The one on the north still preserves its original shape of a triple window (fig. 13), while the one on the south was completely removed at the end of the thirteenth century in order to connect the two churches. Two marble mullions, 3.50 m. high and 1 m. deep, divide the opening into three equal bays. The mullions bear a carved decoration on their narrow sides, while their bases and capitals are decorated on all four sides (fig. 20A). The Turks walled up the spaces between the mullions, leaving open only the arches above them in the form of a triple window.

The window of the central apse was divided in the same fashion into three equal openings, which the Turks likewise walled up (fig. 19). The marble mullions bear a rich decoration on their narrow sides; the bases and capitals are, once more, carved on all four sides (fig. 20B). Facing the interior, the capitals have a cross between two eagles with outspread wings, while the bases have a cross between two palmettes. Higher up, at the springing of the semi-

³³ [There are actually eight of these reused half-capitals: see *infra*, p. 303.].

dome of the apse is a splendidly decorated marble cornice. In the center of the apse is a cross in a wreath of bay leaves with a partridge on either side. The remainder of this cornice is divided by a zigzag line into a series of triangles, the field of which is decorated with different floral motifs and crosses (fig. 21).

The conch of the southernmost aisle of the older church (which was made to serve as the north apsidiole of the church of St. John the Baptist) is likewise divided into three openings by means of carved marble mullions (fig. 20C). Here the Turks have completely blocked up the two lateral openings, leaving open only the upper part of the middle one.

Of particular interest is the roof of the church upon which were built four independent chapels in the four corners formed by the cruciform space in the center (fig. 9). The floor of the chapels and of the connecting passages is supported by the vaulting of the lateral aisles. The intervening spaces in the roof were filled with inverted water-jars (fig. 23) so as to decrease its weight.³⁴ Originally, the roof was reached by means of wooden staircases placed in the projecting structures on either side of the narthex. Today it can be reached only through the base of the minaret.

As we can see in figure 9, two passages must have run the whole length of the roof so as to afford entrance to the chapels. The south passage has been preserved (fig. 22), whereas the north one has been destroyed along with the outer north aisle. All four chapels were domed (fig. 24) and were of two kinds, those on the east side having quatrefoil antechambers, while those on the west had rectangular ones. The latter as well as the staircase towers and lateral passages were probably covered with a timber roof. As also on the ground floor, the conch of each roof chapel has a cruciform sinking for the insertion of a stone or metal cross (fig. 25). The two western chapels still have their marble *bemas* with cavities into which relics were placed; we even found the small marble lid of one of these cavities (fig. 26).

The chapels and the surrounding space were covered with a thick layer of ashes and broken tiles left over from the wooden Turkish roof that had been burnt. When we removed this layer a pleasant surprise awaited us. At the spot marked with a cross on figure 9, we found a marble icon of St. Eudocia (fig. 79). This icon must have belonged to one of the four chapels and have been placed here, upside down, during the construction of the wooden roof in the seventeenth century.

After the churches had been cleared and the plaster stripped off the walls, we made some soundings under the *bema* of the north church. At a depth of 1.40 m. we found a layer of lime and crushed brick which extended over the entire area of the floor and upon which was placed the marble or mosaic pavement of an earlier church. Later two transverse foundation walls which support the bases of the four columns were built over this layer. The intervening space was filled with rough stones carefully set without mortar, and upon

³⁴ This technique was commonly used in Byzantine architecture: cf. R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939), pp. 46, 148ff., figs. 49, 197-199.

these was laid the floor of the tenth-century church (figs. 6, 7). Among the stones we removed to reach the original level we found fragments of limestone carvings of the sixth century or even earlier, which may be compared to the reliefs discovered in the Monastery of Studius³⁵ (fig. 29). No fragments of a later period were found here.

As a result of the peculiar configuration of Constantinople, soil is constantly washed down into the valleys that lie between the seven hills, so that the interior level of monuments situated either on the slopes of the hills or in the valleys tends to become considerably lower than the exterior level. This is why Constantine Lips had to raise the floor of the church. As we have seen, the Turks too were obliged later on to raise it by another 80 cm., so that the inside level should correspond to the constantly rising outside level.

The stonework of the walls is the same below the tenth-century level as it is up to a height of 60 cm. above that level (fig. 28). Next comes a band consisting of five courses of brick, and above that is another band of stone. This system of construction, namely alternating bands of brick and stone, was introduced before the sixth century and continued to be used in the succeeding period. In any case, the lower part of the walls up to a height of 2 m. belongs to a building older than the tenth century. It is significant in this connection that the opening of the door between the central apse and the diaconicon goes down to the first level, which proves that originally this was indeed used as a floor since otherwise the opening would have reached down only to the tenth-century level.^{35a}

It follows from the above that the architect of Constantine Lips retained the plan of the previous church and a large part of its structure which he adapted in some respects. Thus, we were able to ascertain that he preserved the original shape of the main apse, whereas he altered the prothesis and the diaconicon by means of additions which gave to these spaces their present appearance. The exact differentiation of the original parts of the building from those of the tenth century is, however, rather difficult and requires further study on the spot. It is, in any case, clear that the construction above the inscribed cornice is of the tenth century.

Furthermore, it appears that the tenth-century architect was not content to reuse the walls of the older church, but did the same also with its carved interior ornament. We found under the Turkish floor many beautiful carved fragments of the sixth century which must have come from the same church, since it is rather unlikely that they should have been brought in from another building. Some of these carvings show traces of having been repaired by the insertion of iron clamps. We cannot determine the period when they were repaired in this fashion: possibly this happened under the Empress Theodora when she built the adjoining church and restored the church of the Virgin.

³⁵ G. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, II (Constantinople, 1914), p. 453 ff.

^{35a} [This statement is incorrect. Figure 28 shows, on the contrary, that the foundation wall has no break under the door leading from the main apse into the diaconicon. Cf. *infra*, p. 281.]

It should be noted that all the carvings of an earlier period were found exclusively under the Turkish floor of the north church. Among these were four draped torsoes executed in a classicizing technique (height 26–31 cm.; projection of the relief 5–13 cm.) and two heads (fig. 30). The head reproduced in the right upper corner shows the marks of the sculptor's chisel, whereas the head on the left, which is of a different technique is completely smooth. The two larger torsoes have been repaired with iron clamps.

Further, we found several fragments of eagles carved in high relief (fig. 31). Among them is the body of an eagle (27 cm. high, 19 cm. wide) the wings of which were outspread. The projection of the breast is 19 cm. On the stump of the wing and on the upper part of the leg four iron clamps have been preserved. The leg, which is executed in a schematic manner, is 44 cm. high, and its claws grasp a globe. The head together with its crest is 10 cm. high and 8 cm. wide. It has big eyes with hollow pupils into which some colored matter was probably inserted. We were able to calculate that the total height of the eagle was about 70 cm. It is at present difficult to determine what part of the church was decorated with these eagles and other fragments. All we can say is that these pieces must have formed the projecting parts of capitals³⁶ or decorative slabs which the Turks hacked away so as to square off the marble blocks for reuse.

The most interesting group of fragments among those we have discovered belongs to an archivolt with representations of the apostles. Originally this was a rectangular tympanum, but the spandrels have been lost, so that only the actual arch remains. By joining together the connecting fragments we were able to make an approximate reconstruction of the arch (fig. 32). It will be noticed that the arch, as restored by us (i.e., without making provision for a bust of Christ in the center) is very slightly elliptical. Its opening measures 2.25 m., to which should be added the width of each side (35.5 cm.) as well as a frame border some 20 cm. wide. Thus we obtain a total width of nearly 3.40 m. which corresponds exactly to the width of the arch over the main apse.

Several comparable archivolts are known, most of them, however, being of a later period. We may mention those in the parekklesion of Kariye Camii as well as the ciborium arches exhibited in the Museum of Istanbul. Among the latter, No. 705 is decorated with busts of the apostles.³⁷

We confidently believe that the archivolt under discussion adorned the arch over the central apse. This conclusion is based not only on the fact that their respective measurements correspond exactly, but also on the absence of any other suitable place in the interior of the church.³⁸ The high relief of the carving

³⁶ This is the more likely alternative. Cf. A. Orlandos, 'Ἀρχαῖον τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, II/1 (Athens, 1936), p. 98 (St. Theodora, Arta). To the examples listed by Orlandos we may add several capitals with human and animal figures in the Istanbul Museum (Mendel, *Catalogue*, II, Nos. 742–744, 746, 747, 750, 751, 756–758; III, Nos. 1210–1213) and the capitals from the Mangana region, now in the same museum (Demangel and Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes*, p. 122, figs. 151–153).

³⁷ Mendel, *Catalogue*, II, Nos. 705–709; III, No. 1332.

³⁸ There can be no doubt that all the marble carvings described so far belonged to the older, sixth-century church and were reused by the architect of Constantine Lips. These carvings remained in place until the drastic transformation of the building by Bayram Paşa in 1636, when all the interior

indicates that it was meant to be seen from a distance, and indeed the spot where the archivolt was affixed was about 10 m. above ground.

Of the decoration of the archivolt there remain six and a half busts as well as one head without a body. There are also several fragments of haloes. The height of the busts is 36 cm. while their width at the base is 25 cm. The height of the relief varies between 13 and 16 cm. The reconstruction of the arch is based on the following two considerations:

First, the busts of the two beardless apostles have a flat base so that they can be placed only at the two springing points of the arch. This position fully corresponds to iconographic requirements.

Second, the entire right-hand side consists of connecting fragments, leaving little room for conjectural restoration.

The inside rim of the arch is decorated with a wreath of acanthus which is interrupted at regular intervals by one corner of each bust. Furthermore, the busts were separated from one another by upright leaves of acanthus the tips of which bent over forward on the outer rim of the arch. As we have said, the arch was joined to a flat tympanum: this is shown by the unevenly broken upper rim along which may still be seen what little remains of the decorated surface of the spandrels.

Starting at the left foot of the arch, we have first a beardless apostle, either Thomas or Philip (figs. 33, 35).³⁹ Of his nimbus only a small part is preserved on the left. The head is in excellent condition, except for the nose. Of the body there remain the right shoulder and blessing hand.

In the space immediately following we have placed a very expressive head, probably that of the apostle Andrew in view of the characteristic arrangement of the hair with wavy locks (figs. 33, 36). Part of the halo and a tiny fragment of the decoration of the spandrel are preserved to the left. The head is represented frontally and is in good condition; the tip of the beard and the locks of hair to the right are missing.

In the two empty spaces that follow we have placed, first, part of a halo with traces of the upper part of a head, and, second, half of a headless bust holding a gospel book.

There follows an empty space with only a small part of a halo in the upper right corner and then a headless bust, probably that of Paul, holding a scroll. Above this there remain part of the halo and of the adjoining acanthus leaf. Between this bust and the next one to the right, of which only a tiny part is preserved, is a gap corresponding to the crown of the arch. Now, we have

decoration was thrown down to the ground. As we have said, the Turks converted only the south church into a mosque, while the north church was used as a dervish *tekke*. As a result, the north church was not at first subjected to the removal of the Christian decoration which is compulsory in a mosque. The same conclusion is suggested by the fact that all the tombs in the south church, in its narthex, and in the south wing of the perambulatory were opened by the Turks and thoroughly cleared of bones, inasmuch as Moslem law explicitly prohibits the presence of dead bodies in a mosque; on the other hand, no such measures were taken in the north church. The single tomb in the nave of the north church, the five sarcophagi in its narthex, and the four in its exonarthex were all found unopened.

³⁹ This fragment has been published with our consent by Peirce and Tyler who date it to *ca.* A. D. 500: *L'art byzantin* (Paris, 1934), II, pl. 15a.

before us a fragment, 22 cm. high and 28 cm. wide, representing the upper part of Christ's head with a cross nimbus (fig. 37). This piece was found together with the other fragments of the arch and shows the same technique. All that remains is the forehead with locks of hair and the left eyebrow. The head has a relief of 11 cm. To the spectator's left is a small projection which pertains to the decoration of the tympanum. In our opinion, the bust or, to be more exact, the head and halo of Christ, projected beyond the crown of the arch seeing that the diameter of the halo (32 cm.) is bigger than that of the other haloes by about 15 cm. We have another example of a bust of Christ projecting beyond the crown of an arch in the Museum of Istanbul.⁴⁰

In the right-hand side of the arch, the restoration of which admits of no doubt, there remain four busts, three of which retain their heads (fig. 34). Proceeding from the top downward we have, first, the bust of an Evangelist whose body is represented *en face* while his head is bent slightly to the right. The head is well preserved except for its lower part. The beard and part of the mouth are missing (fig. 38). There follows the headless bust of a blessing apostle and next to him a nearly intact bust, probably that of St. Peter, holding a scroll. The upper part of the head with its wrinkled brow and the halo are very well preserved. The following space remains completely empty. Finally, we have the bust of the other beardless apostle, Thomas or Philip (fig. 39), the base of which forms a flat surface. There remain the right side of the body and the head with part of the halo. The head, which has a particularly broad brow with locks of hair falling over it, is well preserved. The tip of the nose and part of the chin have been broken off.

To conclude the description of the north church we may enumerate briefly the other carved pieces that we found in it. In figure 40 we have reproduced a number of small fragments, namely: A) two hands holding an indeterminate object; B) a much damaged beardless head; C) the four fingers less the thumb of an open hand; D) a bare elbow with part of a draped arm; E F) two fragments of eagles' heads; G) an eagle's claws; H) a large wing.

Figure 41 shows four fragments (the biggest of which is 70 cm. high and 24 cm. wide) of a large slab of bluish marble representing a peacock with its tail spread out. We find a peacock in the same stance on a piece of a carved slab from the monastery of Studius,⁴¹ on a beautiful capital from the church of the Holy Apostles,⁴² and on a piece found by us in the excavations of the Golden Gate.⁴³

Figure 42 represents parapet slabs with a stylized vegetal and geometric decoration in flat relief. They are 62 to 77 cm. high, 20 cm. wide and 5 to 6 cm. thick. Pieces A and B joined together.

⁴⁰ Mendel, *Catalogue*, II, No. 706.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, No. 721.

⁴² *Ibid.*, III, No. 1242. [This capital may actually have come from the church of St. Polyeuctes: See *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 15 (1961), p. 246].

⁴³ Macridy and Casson, "Excavations at the Golden Gate, Constantinople," *Archaeologia*, LXXXI (1931), pl. xli.

Figures 43 and 44 represent a series of fragments also of parapet slabs with a rich vegetal decoration and geometric designs probably of Sasanian inspiration.

Figure 45 shows parts of ornamental cornices and the capital of a mullion or colonnette. The piece of cornice in the upper left-hand corner was made from a slab of the Roman period on which one can still see part of a *tabula ansata* with a Greek inscription.

The Church of St. John the Baptist

The south church, as we have said, was built by the Empress Theodora, widow of Michael VIII Palaeologus. Its construction dates from the period between 1282, the year when Michael Palaeologus died, and 1304, the year of Theodora's death. In 1302, as shown by the text of the typicon which we shall discuss later, the building was not yet completed.^{43a} It was a women's monastery housing fifty nuns, of whom thirty were concerned solely with religious duties and the remainder with domestic service.

The church, which is three-aisled, has one main entrance from the west and another door in the middle of the south aisle. The length of the church including the narthex corresponds exactly to that of the older church, but its width is bigger by 2 m. The system of construction is quite different from the austere symmetry of the north church: for example, the main entrance is noticeably off axis. Everything shows great haste in the completion of the building which was intended as the last dwelling-place of Theodora and members of her family. As we have said, the extreme south aisle of the older church was incorporated in the new building and forms a separate chapel which we shall discuss later. In its apse one can see the marble base of the altar table, with four square cavities in the corners into which the legs fitted, as well as another cavity for the insertion of holy relics.

The parts of the building erected by Theodora are shown cross-hatched on the ground plan (fig. 5). The narthex includes on the left the staircase well of the north church. In its floor may be seen the bases of four columns which supported a ciborium⁴⁴ (fig. 48). The right-hand part of the narthex was used as a place of burial; it is covered with a dome which originally had a tall drum lit by eight windows (see roof plan, fig. 9). The present low dome (fig. 49) is Turkish. The carved marble cornice at the base of this dome (fig. 50) is fairly well preserved.⁴⁵

The door leading into the nave is off the axis both of the entire church and of the narthex entrance. Under the Turkish floor of the nave we found four out of the six column-bases (fig. 54) which supported triple arcades on the north, south, and west sides of the central square. The marble columns were

^{43a} [I can find no evidence for this assertion; nor is there any reason to suppose that the typicon was written in 1302. See *infra*, p. 301.]

⁴⁴ [Actually, they supported the newel-posts of the staircase. Cf. *infra*, p. 294.]

⁴⁵ [Today no trace of this cornice remains.]

removed by the Turks who replaced the triple arcades with large pointed arches (fig. 46). They also filled up with brickwork the triple windows in the lunettes immediately below the dome. From the original dome there remains only the carved marble cornice at its base (fig. 51), the present dome, including its drum, being Turkish work of the seventeenth century.

In the middle of the central apse was a triple window with two marble mullions, the narrow sides of which bear a fairly simple carved decoration. The Turks have blocked up this window and built in front of it their *mihrab* which looks southeast, i.e. in the direction of Mecca (fig. 47). On either side of the *mihrab* they pierced a new window.

The floor of the *bema* was 35 cm. higher than that of the church. In the middle of the *bema* may be seen four round cavities for the legs of the holy table. Under the holy table was a trapezoid reliquary, 1 m. long and 30 cm. deep, which was reveted with marble. Here was placed the relic of St. Irene, as specified in the typicon of the monastery.⁴⁶ The anonymous Russian pilgrim who visited Constantinople between 1424 and 1453 says, too, that going down toward the south from the church of the Holy Apostles one encountered two nunneries, in one of which was preserved the body of St. Irene.⁴⁷ The Russian pilgrim Zosima (1419–1421) who visited the women's monastery called Lipesi (i.e. Lips) says that in it were buried the Empress Irene and the Russian Princess Anna, daughter of the Grand Duke Vasiliĭ Dimitrievič of Moscow and grand-daughter of the Grand Duke Alexander of Lithuania.⁴⁸ Delehaye, in commenting on these passages, and naturally not being aware of the reliquary found in our excavations, believes that the pilgrims are speaking of the tomb of the Empress Irene, wife of Andronicus III, who was also buried in Theodora's monastery.⁴⁹ Today, however, this view is no longer tenable. The typicon specifies that the service in honor of St. Irene was to be celebrated in the sanctuary "adjoining the old [*sc.* church]," i.e., in the southernmost apse of the older church in which, as we have seen, there was an altar table. The typicon also shows, incidentally, that the four roof chapels of the north church were still in use in Theodora's time.

The *bema* of the south church was separated from the nave by means of a marble *templon*. The sinkings for its parapet slabs and polygonal columns may still be seen. The Turks naturally dismantled the *templon*; at the same time they built, parallel to the axis of the *mihrab*, a wall abutting on the southeast pier.⁵⁰ In the course of our excavations this wall was removed. Among the material that had been used for its construction, we found a number of fragments which, when put together, made up the perforated parapet shown in

⁴⁶ Delehaye, *Deux typica*, p. 110. [The typicon does not, in fact, indicate in which part of the church the relic of St. Irene was kept; one may, however, suppose that it was placed in the prothesis of the south church since the typicon lays down that liturgy was to be celebrated "in the name of St. Irene" ἐπὶ τῷ ἐχόμενῳ (ἐχομένῳ? *sc.* σηκῶ) τοῦ παλαιοῦ.]

⁴⁷ Mme de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), p. 234. [The pilgrim in question probably visited Constantinople in 1390; see *BZ*, XLV (1952), p. 380ff.]

⁴⁸ Mme de Khitrowo, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

⁴⁹ *Deux typica*, p. 177.

⁵⁰ [I.e. the foundation wall of the *mimber*: see fig. 8.]

figure 58 (79 cm. wide, 75 cm. high). This parapet probably belonged to the *templon* in view of its proximity to the Turkish wall.⁵¹

We cannot tell whether the entire floor of the nave was covered with slabs or with inlay. We found two fragments of ornamental squares consisting of polychrome inlay, one to the east and the other to the west of the two column-bases facing the apse (figs. 52 and 53), as well as a number of little marble plaques of different colors, the dimensions of which vary between 8 and 24 cm. wide by 6 to 24 cm. long (fig. 55).

In the middle of the south aisle is a door leading into the perambulatory. On either side of this door is an arched niche, each of which contained a tomb. The Turks opened a door through the back wall of both niches and contrived a little closet beside each of these doors (figs. 56, 57). After the removal of the Turkish additions we found in both niches traces of mosaic with representations and inscriptions. The glass cubes have, however, been so damaged by fire that these representations are now barely visible. Even so, the discovery of these fragments is sufficient proof that all the sepulchral niches inside the *naos* were decorated with mosaic. The remains of the mosaic decoration of the church proper, were, as we have said, scraped off by the Turks after the fire of 1633. A great amount of tesserae were found among the debris used to heighten the floor level.

The south aisle of the church terminates in the diaconicon which has an elliptical shape and is lit in the same fashion as the other apses. Two marble mullions, 2 m. high and 90 cm. deep, divide the window-opening into three equal parts. The narrow sides of the mullions, 20 cm. wide, bear crosses and a linear decoration (fig. 59). The bases (which are more ancient capitals placed upside down) are decorated with crosses between palmettes, and the capitals with a ribbon twisted so as to form a cross, between the arms of which are placed the letters ΦΧΦΠ (φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι). Here, too, one observes a lack of symmetry, for, whereas the north mullion is parallel to the axis of the church, the south one is at an angle to it (see fig. 5).

The Perambulatory

At a later period a perambulatory consisting of two wings was added to Theodora's church. It extends along the south side of the church forming a lateral narthex, and along the western side of both churches forming a common exonarthex. The length of the lateral wing is about 22 m., whereas the western wing is 28 m. long. The width of the wings is 3.50 m. and the height 6.50 m. This new addition abuts on Theodora's church only by its eastern wall and is connected with both churches by means of its roof which consists of a series of cross-groined vaults (fig. 60). The lateral wing had two entrances, one in the middle facing the side entrance of the church, while the other, at the east end, has been blocked up by the Turks. The exonarthex had three entrances, the middle one being narrower than the lateral ones which faced the entrances of

⁵¹ [The object in question looks much more like a window grille.]

the two churches. Five arched niches which contained as many tombs were built in the thickness of the south wall of the perambulatory and two more at the south end of the west wall. The lighting of the perambulatory was achieved by means of a series of open arches in the upper zone of the outer walls.⁵² These were partly blocked up by the Turks and converted into rectangular windows (fig. 1).

The minaret was built over the southwest corner of the perambulatory, entailing the blocking up of the tomb below it (fig. 8). The steps of the spiral staircase consist of large fragments of slabs and parapets belonging to the interior decoration of both churches. On the back wall of the niche that was blocked up by the minaret is a piece of fresco which has been faithfully copied by E. Mamboury (fig. 61). This leads us to suppose that the niches of the perambulatory were decorated with frescoes as opposed to the niches inside the church which, as we have seen, were decorated with mosaics.

Many fragments of marble revetment slabs with champlévé vegetal decoration were found under the Turkish floor of the south church as well as inside the looted tombs of the lateral narthex. The thickness of these fragments is between 4.5 and 6 cm., and their width from 18 to 27 cm. They may be separated into two groups, namely, the rectangular ones (fig. 62) which are up to 70 cm. long, and the triangular ones which were used to decorate the spandrels of the arched niches (fig. 63). All of these fragments are of the fifteenth century which, in all probability, is the period when the perambulatory was built. They may be compared to contemporary Mohammedan wood carvings.

The sunken parts of both types of plaques were intentionally left unfinished since they were meant to contain a colored matter. Small particles of this matter were found on some of the fragments, but neither its composition nor its color could be determined because it had been subjected to fire.

Among the marble fragments discovered is part of a carved parapet slab measuring 80 × 59 cm. (fig. 64). Its decoration consists of diagonally intersecting triple lines; within the squares thus formed are placed crosses within circles and rosettes alternately.^{52a}

The epigraphic material yielded by our excavations has been very meager. Only a few fragments of inscriptions, each one consisting of a few letters, came to light. The only explanation we can furnish for the disappearance of so many funeral inscriptions belonging to imperial and princely tombs is that these inscriptions were carved on flat slabs which the Turks found particularly suitable for reuse.

The only noteworthy fragments (figs. 66, 67) were found where they had been thrown down by the Turks, inside three of the tombs of the lateral narthex. They belong to two or more funeral plaques that were probably

⁵² [The second arch from the west of the south wall has not yet been fully examined and may have been either a closed lunette or a window similar to the others, but it may be said that there were semicircular windows in all the arches of the south and west walls except above the two principal doors in the west façade which were originally completely closed. At the east end of the south perambulatory the arch appears to have been filled by a large lunette window.]

^{52a} [A further part of the same slab, found in the north church, is reproduced in figure 65.]

affixed to the back wall of the niches. As is shown by the preserved fragments, the upper side of each plaque terminated in a triangular gable which contained monograms and emblems. We are unable to interpret the inscriptions and monograms on account of their incomplete condition,^{52b} except for the one fragment shown in figure 68B which bears the emblem of the Palaeologi as suggested by comparison with similar carvings found at Mistra.⁵³

The Tombs

In the church built by the Empress Theodora are twelve masonry tombs and two ossuaries; in the lateral narthex six^{53a} tombs, likewise of masonry. All of these tombs and ossuaries, which were built simultaneously with the construction of the church and of the lateral narthex, have been opened by the Turks and, after the removal of the bones, filled with débris. The dimensions of these tombs vary in length between 2.50 and 2.80 m., in width between 0.90 and 1.40 m., and in depth between 1.40 and 2 m.

The bottom part of each tomb narrows down to a space of about 0.60 × 0.60 m., too small for the insertion of a coffin (cf. fig. 6). We may suppose that this space was covered with a grid or perforated slab so that the liquids resulting from decomposition could flow down into it. Similar examples have been found by us in the excavations of the Hebdomon⁵⁴ and of the monastery of St. Panteleemon on the upper Bosphorus;⁵⁵ by Prof. Krischen at Stobi in Macedonia, and by Prof. Xyngopoulos at Thessalonica.⁵⁶

We know from Byzantine texts that several members of the Palaeologan family were buried in the Monastery of Lips in the following chronological order:

1. First was buried here, even before the completion of the south church, Theodora's second daughter Eudocia, wife of the Emperor of Trebizond John II Comnenus. She died between 1297 and 1304.^{56a}

^{52b} [The largest fragment, pictured in figure 66, bears the metric epitaph of a lady called Theodosia, which was probably her monastic name. We may make out the following words:

... ᾶ]κουσον ἀκούσματ[α....
] Θεοδοσίην μ[.....
]αν τε φίλαγ[δρον?.....
]ντα λέλοιπεν?.....
ᾶ]κοιτις ἔτι κ[.....

The monogram in the gabled projection may be that of the Tarchaneiotas family. Could the lady in question have been Theodora Tarchaneiotissa, niece of Michael VIII, who, as we know, took the monastic name of Theodosia? See A. Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Paleiologen* (Diss. Munich, 1938), No. 28.]

⁵³ G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris, 1910), pls. 58, 14, 62, 15. [The device at Mistra is probably not that of the Palaiologi since it stands next to the monograms of the Palaiologi and the Cantacuzenes: Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra," *Bull. corr. hell.*, XXIII (1899), p. 141f. Besides, the device at Mistra is not quite similar to that of Fenari Isa.]

^{53a} [Plus one concealed by the staircase of the minaret.]

⁵⁴ Macridy and Ebersolt, "Monuments funéraires de Constantinople," *Bull. corr. hell.*, XLVI (1922), p. 370ff.

⁵⁵ Macridy, "Τὸ Βυζαντινὸν Ἑβδομον," *Θρακικά*, XII (1939), p. 48.

⁵⁶ Ἀρχαιολ. Δελτίον, IX (1924-25), Suppl., p. 66.

^{56a} Delehay, *Deux typica*, p. 130. [The typicon does not state which one of Theodora's three

2. The foundress of the Monastery, Theodora, widow of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus. She died on the 16th of February 1304.⁵⁷
3. Theodora's mother.⁵⁸
4. Irene, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, Albert IV, first wife of the Emperor Andronicus III. She died at Rhaedestus on the 16th of August 1324.⁵⁹
5. Andronicus II Palaeologus who died on the 13th of February 1332.⁶⁰
6. Anna, a Russian princess, first wife of John VIII Palaeologus. She died of the plague in 1418.⁶¹

The typicon of the monastery gives us the following indications concerning the tombs of the south church:

"Concerning the manner and place in which the Lady's children and grandchildren are to be buried.

"It is time to mention our demise, since there is no living man who shall not see death. And in the first place, I shall make it known to my contemporaries and descendents in what place and manner I desire my dead body to be laid down. My daughter has already been buried on the right-hand side as one enters the Church of the Forerunner. The tomb of myself and my cherished mother (for I cannot suffer to be parted from her even after my death) shall be erected beyond the door which is in between. In time to come any of my children and sons-in-law who shall in his lifetime request to be laid down here shall be suitably buried; the same shall apply to my grandsons and granddaughters, daughters-in-law and granddaughters' husbands, for all of whom requiems shall be celebrated annually. As for the space opposite, on the left-hand side as one goes hence towards the old church of the Theotokos, it shall be left entirely free and shall be disposed of as my son, the Emperor, thinks fit."⁶²

It follows from this text that Eudocia's tomb was one of the three discovered at the west end of the south aisle. In the middle of the same aisle are two tombs, the biggest of all, one next to the other: these probably belonged to Theodora and her mother.⁶³ The tombs of the German Princess Irene and the

daughters was buried in the monastery. Eudocia (who was Theodora's third, not her second daughter) died at Trebizond on December 13, 1302 and must have been buried in that city. See Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen*, No. 52, and *infra*, p. 302.]

⁵⁷ Pachymeres, Bonn ed., II, p. 378. [Papadopoulos, *op. cit.*, No. 1 reckons that Theodora must have died on March 4, 1303. Her third son, Constantine (d. May 5, 1306), was also buried in the monastery of Lips. Pachymeres, II, p. 425: Καὶ ὑπὸ δαφιλέσι φωσὶ καὶ λαμπάσι τῇ τοῦ Λίψης μονῇ παραπέμπεται καὶ οὕτω λαμπρῶς καὶ πολυτελῶς μόνον δὴ φέρων εἰς μνήμην τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν δουλείαν καὶ ψιλὸν ὄνομα κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τοῖς ἐξωτάτω σορίοις ἐνταφιάζεται. If I understand this passage correctly (I have deliberately omitted the punctuation of the Bonn ed.), Constantine was buried in one of the "outermost tombs," i.e., in the perambulatory. On the date of the perambulatory, see *supra*, p. 252.]

⁵⁸ Delehaye, *Deux typica*, p. 130.

⁵⁹ Cantacuzenus, Bonn ed., I, p. 193f.

⁶⁰ Gregoras, Bonn ed., I, p. 463.

⁶¹ Phrantzes, Bonn ed., p. 110; cf. Ducas, Bonn ed., p. 98.

⁶² Delehaye, *Deux typica*, p. 130.

⁶³ [The very passage quoted by Macridy suggests, on the contrary, that Theodora's daughter was buried in the west niche of the south aisle, and Theodora, together with her mother, in the east niche.

Russian Princess Anna remain unidentified. As for the nine other tombs in the church and the seven in the lateral narthex, they must surely have belonged to Theodora's descendents as specified in the typicon.

In 1924 W. H. Buckler published the funeral stele of a nun Maria, daughter of a Palaeologus.⁶⁴ We are convinced that this tombstone came from Theodora's mausoleum. Maria was probably a nun in the monastery and one of Theodora's descendents (fig. 69).

An ossuary with a sliding lid is placed against the east wall of the narthex; another, separated into three compartments, under the eastern niche of the south aisle. Next to the latter is a further ossuary in the shape of a triangle. Finally, in the middle of the south aisle of the older church is one more ossuary, which is not as carefully built as the others. Inside it were found all the fragments of the marble archivolt decorated with busts of the apostles.

In addition to the last ossuary, we found only one other tomb in the north church, placed against the middle of the north wall. It is not built of masonry, but merely faced on the inside with marble slabs. The cover, a simple marble plaque, was supported on two transverse iron bars. It had no inscription or decoration. This tomb was completely intact and the skeleton was in its normal position. No objects were found in it except a few iron nails which must have been used to hold together the wooden coffin. The austere simplicity of this tomb suggests that it was that of a monk. Now, it is known that Andronicus II after being forcibly deposed in 1328 by his grandson Andronicus III,⁶⁵ died in poverty as the monk Antony on the 12th of February, 1332. He was buried in the Monastery of Lips where Nicephorus Gregoras delivered his funeral oration.⁶⁶ The typicon, as we have seen, specifies that the space opposite Theodora's tomb was to be left vacant for the burial of any person designated by the emperor. Since the tomb we have just described is the only one in the north church, there is no doubt in our mind that it is that of Andronicus II.⁶⁷

The floor of the narthex of the north church was covered with a solid bed of mortar, 35 cm. thick, on which traces of a polychrome marble pavement were visible. At first we did not suppose that there could have been any tombs under this floor. However, the fortuitous fall of a large stone caused a hollow sound which induced us to extend our investigations. As a result, a series of five monolithic marble sarcophagi came to light, placed in pairs in front of the

These are the two niches that preserve small fragments of their mosaic decoration (see *infra*, p. 302 f.), and they are indeed separated by a door (fig. 57). The only difficulty is that, according to Macridy, the east niche contained not a regular tomb, but what he terms an ossuary, separated into three compartments (cf. fig. 5). It is a pity that his account should be so laconic on this matter.]

⁶⁴ *Mélanges offerts à G. Schlumberger*, II (Paris, 1924), p. 521 ff. This stele was acquired in 1917 by one Michael Roussos who, on his departure from Constantinople, ceded it to the antique dealer Andronikos. Roussos alleged that the stele had been found in the vicinity of St. Sophia; subsequently, however, Andonikos was able to ascertain that it had in fact been picked up at Etmeydan, after the fire of 1917, by a Turk who was collecting stones for building material.

⁶⁵ Cf. Phrantzes, p. 35.

⁶⁶ Gregoras, I, p. 465 ff. [It is not stated that the oration was delivered in the monastery of Lips.]

⁶⁷ [This conclusion is unsupported by any evidence. Actually, we have no means of knowing in which part of the church Andronicus II was buried.]

three entrances into the nave (figs. 70 and 71). Each sarcophagus was covered by means of two joined slabs of roughly dressed stone, 15 to 20 cm. thick. The sarcophagus to the south is made of a single block and has two compartments, the only example of its kind that is known to us (fig. 72). The shape of these sarcophagi is rectangular on the outside, while on the inside most of them are "anthropoid" (fig. 73). The place of the head is marked with a carved cross on the short outer side. All of these sarcophagi were intact and the skeletons were in their normal position. No objects were found in them except, in one case, some pieces of an embroidered sash. Sarcophagi of this type were common in the fifth and sixth centuries.⁶⁸ Originally their lids were gabled as shown by one example in the Museum of Istanbul.⁶⁹ It is not clear to us whether the missing lids were intentionally removed so as not to protrude above the floor of the narthex, or whether the sarcophagi were brought here without their lids. In any case, we believe that these sarcophagi had been in the sixth-century church and that they were placed under the floor of the narthex in the course of the tenth-century restoration. This conclusion is based on the uniform covering of all the sarcophagi which must have been done at the same period.

In the exonarthex we found four more tombs of different sizes. We believe them to be of a later period, possibly the second half of the fifteenth century. As has been said above, the church was not converted into a mosque until the very end of the fifteenth century.

The Inlaid Icons

Among the chunks of plaster and other debris which the Turks scraped off the walls and used to raise the level of the floor, we found many pieces of small icons consisting of inlaid plaques. These fragments are made of marble and a dark red stone, except for only one icon, the biggest of all, the matrix of which is made of green marble with white veins.

The technique in question is based on the so-called *opus alexandrinum*. By way of comparison it will be enough to mention the inlay work in St. Sophia, Constantinople.⁷⁰ Fragments of similar work of the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century have been found in the excavations of Preslav and Patleina in Bulgaria.⁷¹

Usually the inlaid decoration is vegetal or geometric, except when used in wall revetment; in the latter case it may include representations of birds or other animals and sometimes mythological subjects. The use of this technique for icons has not been known heretofore so that our findings are probably unique.

⁶⁸ Three sarcophagi of this shape are displayed outside the Istanbul Museum, to the right of the entrance. One of them contains, on the inside, the inscription ΘΕΟΥ ΚΕΛΕΥCΙC.

⁶⁹ Mendel, *Catalogue*, III, No. 1321.

⁷⁰ E. M. Antoniadès, *Ἐκφράσεις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας*, II (Leipzig-Athens, 1908), p. 17, fig. 201 (marble inlay above the Imperial Door); fig. 274 and pl. 67 (inlay work in the aisles and over the arches of the colonnades).

⁷¹ Krsto Miatew, *Die Keramik von Preslav* (Sofia, 1936), p. 43, figs. 52-56.

The icons were made in the following manner. The craftsman sketched the outline of his subject on a plaque and then proceeded to cut away the field within the outline to a depth of 0.7 to 1 cm. The area that had been hollowed out was left rough so as to hold better the binding matter (fig. 74). Within the hollows the craftsman inserted thin pieces of white or colored stone, always in contrast with the color of the matrix, so as to form the desired representation. In icons the matrix of which was of white marble the little plaques were all colored, whereas in a colored matrix they were usually white, the design being indicated by means of incised lines (fig. 75). Many little plaques representing ornaments of costume or border designs are themselves perforated for the insertion of stones or glass paste (fig. 76). From a technical point of view we may divide the icons into two categories: those which had an entirely smooth surface and those the faces, arms, haloes, and garments of which were in relief (fig. 78). Some fragments display a mixed technique; part of the subject matter is represented on the matrix itself in low relief, whereas the remainder was made up of white or colored plaques always in contrast to the color of the matrix (fig. 77). A characteristic example of this technique is the piece of white marble reproduced in figure 74C. It represents in low relief the rear end of a horse; the rider, probably St. George, as well as the background was rendered by means of little colored plaques. Another technique is represented by a single marble fragment (8 cm. high, 21.5 cm. wide) being the lower part of a framed icon (fig. 74E). Only the two feet remain, the lines, which were originally colored, being incised in the matrix itself.

Among the pieces we have found, the most important is the icon of St. Eudocia which by good fortune has been preserved almost intact (fig. 79). As we have said, this icon was discovered upside down in a corner outside the southwest roof chapel (fig. 9) in which it may originally have been placed. The matrix is of white marble, 66 cm. high, 28 wide and 7.3 thick. The surface is slightly concave to a maximum depth of 6 mm. The icon proper, including the border, is 57.5 cm. high and 27 cm. wide. The border consists of a groove, 2.5 cm. wide and 7 mm. deep, filled with a row of diamonds of a yellowish color placed end to end. In the center of each diamond is a circular mass of glass paste alternately red and green. In the four corners of the frame the little inlaid plaques are treated in the same fashion, but they are square instead of diamond-shaped. The spaces between the diamonds are filled with little triangular plaques made of a dark red stone.

In the center of the icon St. Eudocia is represented standing full-length in an orant attitude. Her crowned head is surrounded with a yellowish halo. Her face, hands, and neck are of the same color. The Saint wears a long dark red garment richly decorated with gold and precious stones, indicated by means of little inlaid plaques. Some of these are yellowish to denote gold, others green to denote emeralds, while the round white ones stand for pearls. The garment terminates at the top and bottom in a border of a yellowish color inlaid with little squares of glass paste alternately red and green. The girdle and cuffs are treated in the same fashion except for the addition of a row of

pearls. The front part of the garment is decorated down its entire length with a double row of rectangular plaques of a yellowish color having green centers of glass paste. These plaques are separated from one another by grey strips with small white discs denoting pearls. To the belt is attached the *thorakion*⁷² which bears the same decoration as the garment but in a triple row. On each arm as well as at knee level the garment is decorated with a circular *segmentum*,⁷³ the one over the right knee being hidden by the *thorakion*. On her head the Saint wears an imperial crown decorated with pearls and a row of precious stones, and having *perpendulia*⁷⁴ attached to it. The base of the neck is encircled by a collar (*maniakion*)⁷⁵ having a double row of pearls. The face and neck consist of a single plaque of pink stone, the features being indicated by means of shallow incisions. The hands are done in the same manner. The expression of the face is vivid but austere and comes close to the description of Eudocia (Athenais) in the *Chronicon Paschale*.⁷⁶ On either side of the head is the following incised inscription Η ΑΓΙΑ/ΕΥΔΟΚΗΑ (sic). The letters must have been filled with some colored matter, possibly mastic.

When first published by my colleague S. Casson and myself,⁷⁷ this significant object was dated to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. This opinion was endorsed by G. de Jerphanion.⁷⁸ On the other hand, Duthuit⁷⁹ and Grabar⁸⁰ have dated it differently, the former in the twelfth or thirteenth century, the latter in the thirteenth or fourteenth. We continue to uphold our former opinion for the following reasons: 1. The icon was found next to a tenth-century chapel and may originally have stood in its north conch as indicated by the slight concavity in the surface of the icon. 2. Comparison with other monuments of the same period shows complete correspondence, as has been demonstrated by Jerphanion. 3. The shape of the letters points to a period no later than the eleventh century, in any case before the Comneni. 4. The discovery at Preslav of fragments executed in the same technique is further proof that our original dating was correct.

The Saint represented is the Empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II (408–450), who was also known as Athenais because she was a native of Athens. Her memory was celebrated on the 13th of August.⁸¹ It is possible that this icon may have been made by order of the Princess Eudocia, first daughter of Constantine VIII (1025–1028). We know of her that her face was disfigured as a result of an illness, that she became a nun and survived her father.⁸² It is

⁷² Cf. G. de Jerphanion, *La voix des monuments*, N. S. (Rome–Paris, 1938), p. 263 ff.

⁷³ Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des antiquités*, s.v. *segmentum*, IV, p. 1173 f., figs. 6279, 6280; Anna Apostolaki, *Τὰ κοπτικά ὑφάσματα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθῆναις Μουσείου Κοσμητικῶν Τεχνῶν* (Athens, 1932), p. 50 f.

⁷⁴ Cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis*, Bonn ed., pp. 209, 582; J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1923), p. 34.

⁷⁵ Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁷⁶ Bonn ed., I, p. 577.

⁷⁷ *Illustr. London News* (April 11, 1931), p. 611; *Arch. Anzeiger* (1929), p. 355.

⁷⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 275.

⁷⁹ Volbach, Salles, and Duthuit, *L'art byzantin* (Paris, 1933), p. 68, pl. 72.

⁸⁰ *L'art byzantin* (Paris, 1938), pl. 47.

⁸¹ *Synax. eccles. CP*, col. 890.

⁸² Zonaras, lib. XVII. 10, ed. by Dindorf, IV, p. 126; Cedrenus, II, p. 485.

reasonable to suppose that this Princess may have been a nun in the monastery of Lips and that one of the roof chapels was given to her for her private use. If this hypothesis is valid, the icon must be of the first half of the eleventh century.⁸³

Among the other fragments of inlaid icons which, in our opinion, belong to the same period, we mention the following:

A piece of purple stone (35 cm. high, 21 wide, 4.5 thick) representing a standing saint *en face*. This exactly fits part of a white plaque with incised lines representing drapery. In the upper right corner is the ending of the name <ΠΑΥ>ΛΟC (fig. 80A). In figure 80 are shown two further fragments of the same material. The one to the left has the termination of the name <ΑΝΤΩ>ΝΙΟC.⁸⁴ Five other fragments of icons, all made of the same deep red stone, are pictured in figure 81. The one in the upper left corner bears the ending . . . ΡΓΟC, probably St. Gregory Thaumaturgos. As in the case of the icon of St. Eudocia, here, too, the incised letters were filled with a colored substance. Two discs are made of the same red stone and must have been affixed to a marble cornice (figs. 82A,B). The first disc, of which only half is preserved consisting of two fitting fragments (diameter 24.5 cm., thickness 4 cm.), represents St. Nazarius within a circular border which must likewise have been inlaid with little plaques. The second disc which lacks a border (diameter 22.5 cm., thickness 3.5 cm.), is preserved almost entire and represents a duck walking to the right. On its neck the duck wears the characteristic wavy ribbon which often occurs on Sasanian monuments. The following pieces of the inlay have been found: the breast, tail, upper part of one leg, as well as the head, made of green stone, but lacking the beak.

Two fragments of white marble should certainly be attributed to the fourteenth century.⁸⁵ The first, without a border, represents the upper part of a figure of Christ (21.5 cm. high, 23 wide, 6 thick) (fig. 74A). The inlaid decoration is completely lost. On either side of the head are inscribed the letters ΙC ΧC. The second fragment, also without a border (fig. 74B), represents a standing female saint. All that is left is part of the garment with incised tassels and the tip of the left foot.

Finally, we found several pieces of green Thessalian marble which, when fitted together, produced about one half of an icon representing a military saint (fig. 83). This icon, also without border, was the biggest of all (87 cm. high, 52 wide, 3 thick). The depth of the cavities is 1 cm. The inlaid decoration has not been preserved. The saint was represented standing *en face* under an arch supported by two columns. The columns have, at regular intervals, horizontal bands indicated by strips of the same green marble; the rest of the decoration, including the arch and the stylized leaves on either side of it, con-

⁸³ [The lettering on the icon is typical of the tenth century. There appears to be no reason for advancing a later date for the icon.]

⁸⁴ [Macridy appears to have overlooked the presence of a another letter between the N and the I. The reading 'Αντώνιος is therefore ruled out.]

⁸⁵ [There is no reason to suppose that these two fragments are of a different date from the others. Cf. the shape of the C in ΙC ΧC (fig. 74A) with the final C in figure 81, top left corner.]

sisted of inset plaques. The saint held in his right hand a spear and in his left a shield. Above the halo are two circular cavities in the background, probably for the insertion of little plaques bearing the saint's name. This fashion of representing military saints was common from the eleventh century onward. A close parallel is provided by the mosaic of St. Theodore Tiron at Hosios Lukas.⁸⁶

We may now proceed to describe briefly a number of ornamental plaques made of glazed white earthenware. They are decorated on one side with geometric and vegetal forms. The background is light yellow or black. The dimensions vary from 7 to 14 cm. in length by 3.3 to 8.3 wide and 4 to 6 mm. thick. The narrower ones are flat while the wider ones are convex. Many such fragments were found among the débris covering the floor of the churches and enabled us to reconstruct their patterns (fig. 84). The dominant colors are green, yellow, blue, black, and white; red is completely lacking. These plaques were used to decorate cornices or frames. Unfortunately, no such decoration has ever been found *in situ*, except in much later monuments such as the monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos⁸⁷ and that of Lavra, where it is accompanied by the date 1678.⁸⁸

Many plaques of this kind have been excavated at Constantinople. Ebersolt was the first to publish two such fragments in his catalogue of Byzantine ceramics in the Istanbul Museum, but he mistakenly assumed that they were parts of a vase.⁸⁹ A series of such fragments have been found in the excavations of the Hippodrome and have been published by D. Talbot Rice.⁹⁰ Others have been found in the Monastery of Studius, some of which are now in the Benaki Museum (fig. 85). A rich collection of such pieces was in the hands of the antique dealer Andronikos at Istanbul and has been acquired by the French diplomat Jean Pozzi. Another fragment, also from Istanbul, has been published by Gaetano Ballardini in the journal *Faenza*.⁹¹

Many fragments have also been found in the monastery of Patleina and in the ruins of the ancient capital of Bulgaria, Preslav. Their dominant color is reddish. All those who have studied these plaques are agreed that their date is between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eleventh century, which is the date of the buildings in the ruins of which they have been found.⁹² Our findings must also belong to the same period. Mr. Rice⁹³ believes that these plaques are the τάνστρια Νικομήδεια which are mentioned in the description

⁸⁶ Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pl. viii.

⁸⁷ Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., II (Paris, 1926), p. 785, fig. 389.

⁸⁸ H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1924), p. 253.

⁸⁹ *Catalogue des poteries byzantines et anatoliennes du Musée de Constantinople* (Constantinople, 1910), p. 39, nos. 151-2, fig. 44.

⁹⁰ *Second Report upon the Excavations carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928* (London, 1929), p. 32 ff., figs. 38, 39; *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Oxford, 1930), p. 13 ff., pls. viii, ix.

⁹¹ [*Faenza*, *Boll. del Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche*, VIII (1920), p. 61 ff.; *id.* in *Boll. d'arte*, XXV (1932), p. 551 ff. and fig. 1.]

⁹² Miatew, *Die Keramik von Preslav*, p. 62 ff.; Grabar, *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique* (Paris, 1928), p. 7 ff. [Miatew dates the Preslav finds ca. 900, and this has met with general agreement among interested scholars.]

⁹³ *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, p. 15.

of a small church that was ceded by the Emperor Alexius III to the Genoese in 1202.⁹⁴ He thinks that the word τάνστρια is Arabic and not Greek. However, I am more inclined to follow the opinion of Prof. A. Xyngopoulos, namely that the manuscript has been misread and that the correct reading should be γαστρίων instead of τανστρίων. It is known that the word γάστρα denoted in Byzantine parlance every kind of ceramics.⁹⁵

As regards the origin of these plaques, Mr. Rice believes that they were made in the vicinity of Nicomedia. In our opinion they were made in Nicaea and shipped to Constantinople via Nicomedia.⁹⁶ It is most probable that even in Byzantine times Nicaea produced ceramics. We cannot, therefore, share the commonly held view that the production of ceramics at Nicaea developed only after the settlement in that town of Persian craftsmen who were moved thither by Selim I after his victory at Çaldıran in 1514. It may be noted that a catalogue of objects preserved in the Sultan's treasury at Constantinople in the year 1504 mentions a basin and an *ibrik* from Nicaea.⁹⁷ These must have been objects of great artistic value to have been singled out among the treasures listed in the catalogue. Furthermore, we know that in general the Turks took advantage of previously existing local industries and sought to develop them by protective measures.

There can be no doubt that the technique of these plaques shows Oriental influence, as has been rightly observed by Grabar, Rice, and Miatev. The last of these scholars is inclined to postulate a Mesopotamian influence, and compares the fragments from Preslav to the decorative plaques of the Mosque of Qairouan which came from Baghdad. He believes that they were manufactured by Bulgarian craftsmen in view of the fact that a ceramic workshop was found at Preslav in the vicinity of the excavations. We do not wish to dispute Miatev's theory, but we believe with Grabar that Constantinople played an intermediary role and that craftsmen were brought from there to Bulgaria. Our opinion is based on the discovery of a great number of similar fragments in the excavations of the Hippodrome, the Monastery of Lips, the Monastery of Studius and the area of the Topkapı Palace.⁹⁸ This proves that the centre of production was, if not Constantinople itself, then surely the western Asiatic provinces of the Byzantine Empire. The same observation applies to the ceramic icons that were found at Patleina and Preslav in Bulgaria.⁹⁹ The number and quality of similar icons found at Constantinople make it certain that it was in the capital that this kind of icon was first used on a wide scale.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, III (Vienna, 1865), p. 55.

⁹⁵ Ducange, *Gloss. med. et inf. graecitatis*, s.v. γάστρα.

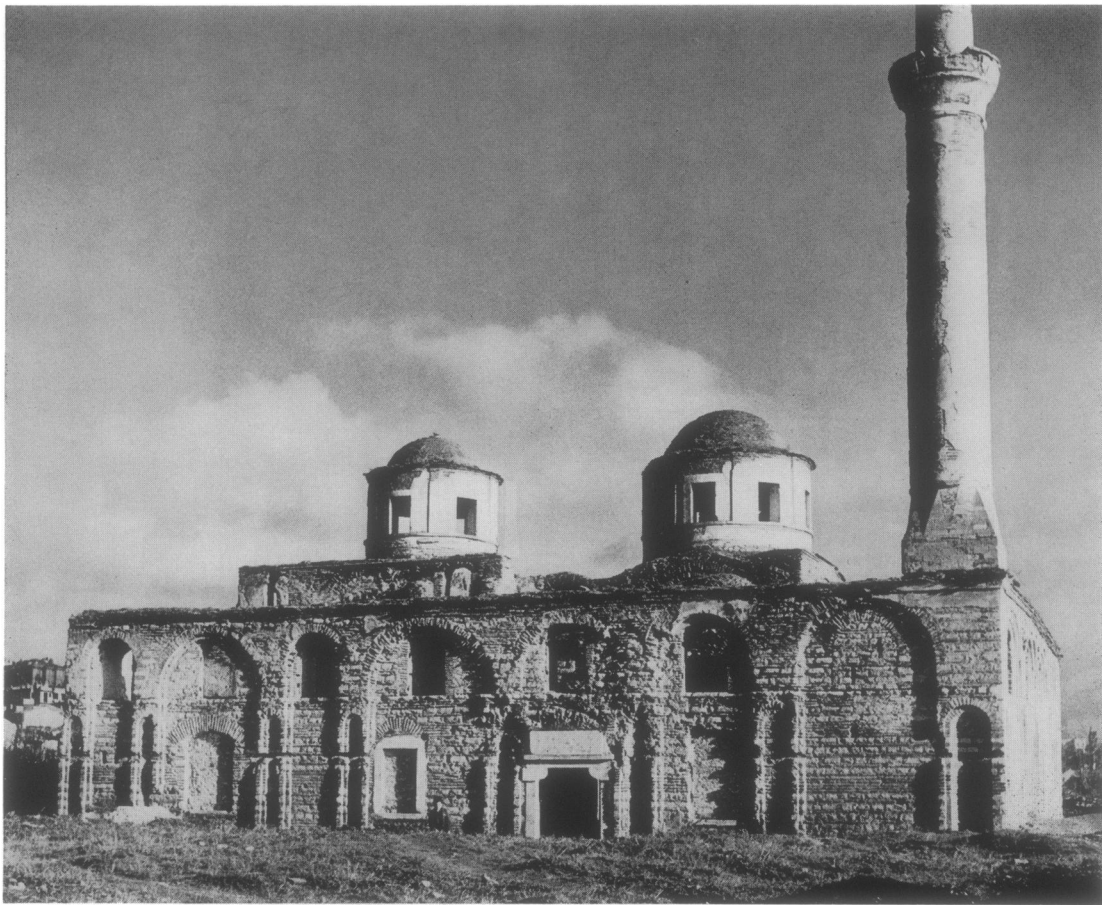
⁹⁶ It may be observed that products are often known by the name of the town from which they are exported. To take one example, the velvet manufactured at Biledjik used to be conveyed for marketing to Broussa and was consequently known as Broussa velvet.

⁹⁷ Archives of the Treasury of the Topkapı Palace, No. 5419.

⁹⁸ [See now Elizabeth S. Ettinghausen, "Byzantine Tiles from the Basilica in the Topkapı Sarayı and St. John of Studios," *Cahiers archéol.*, VII (1954), p. 79 ff.]

⁹⁹ Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, p. 29 ff. and frontispiece; Miatew, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-18.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Ebersolt, "Céramique et statuette de Constantinople," *Byzantion*, VI (1931), p. 559 f. and pl. 22.



1. View from the West (1935)



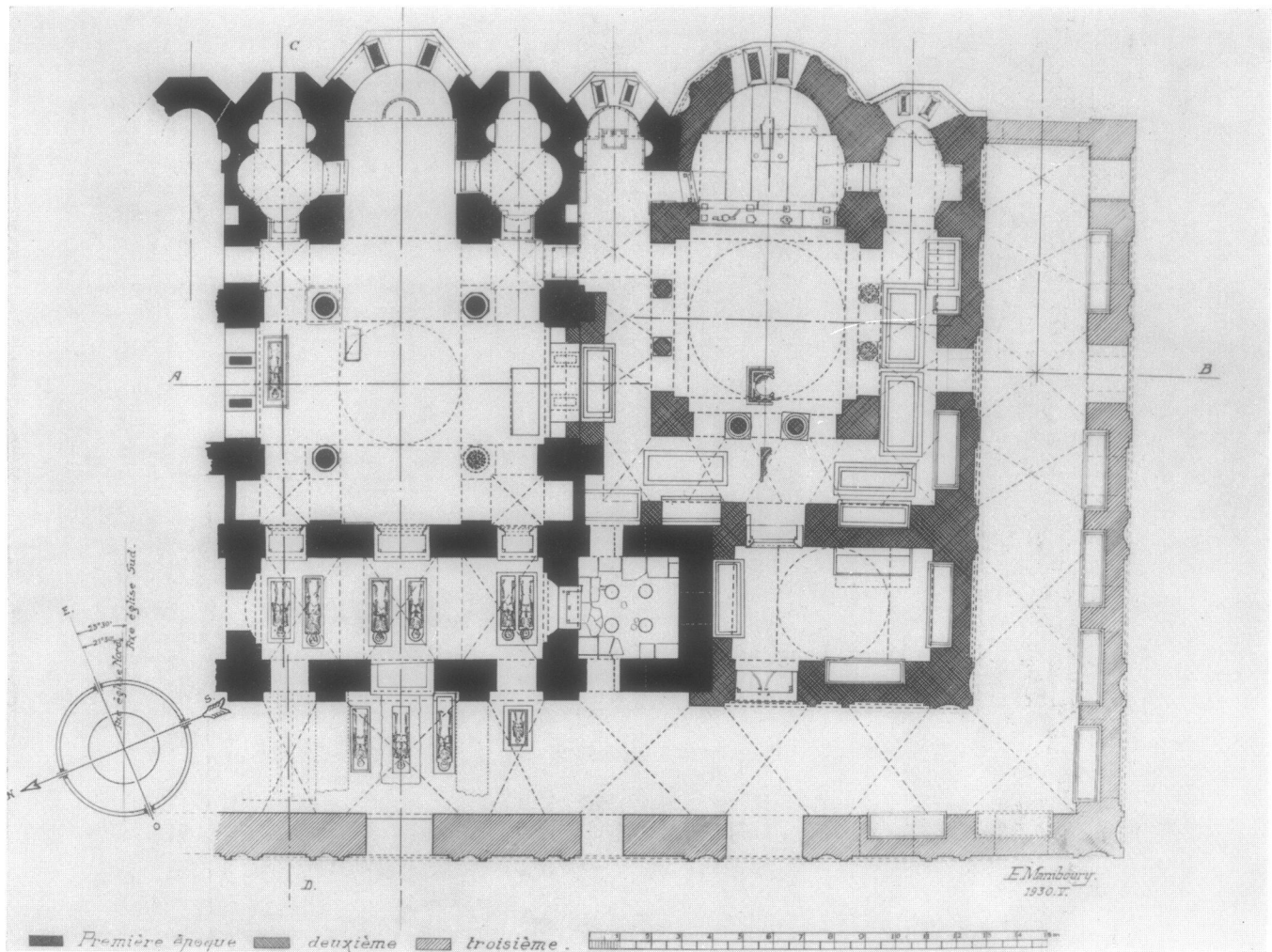
2. View from the North.
Istanbul, Fenari Isa Camii



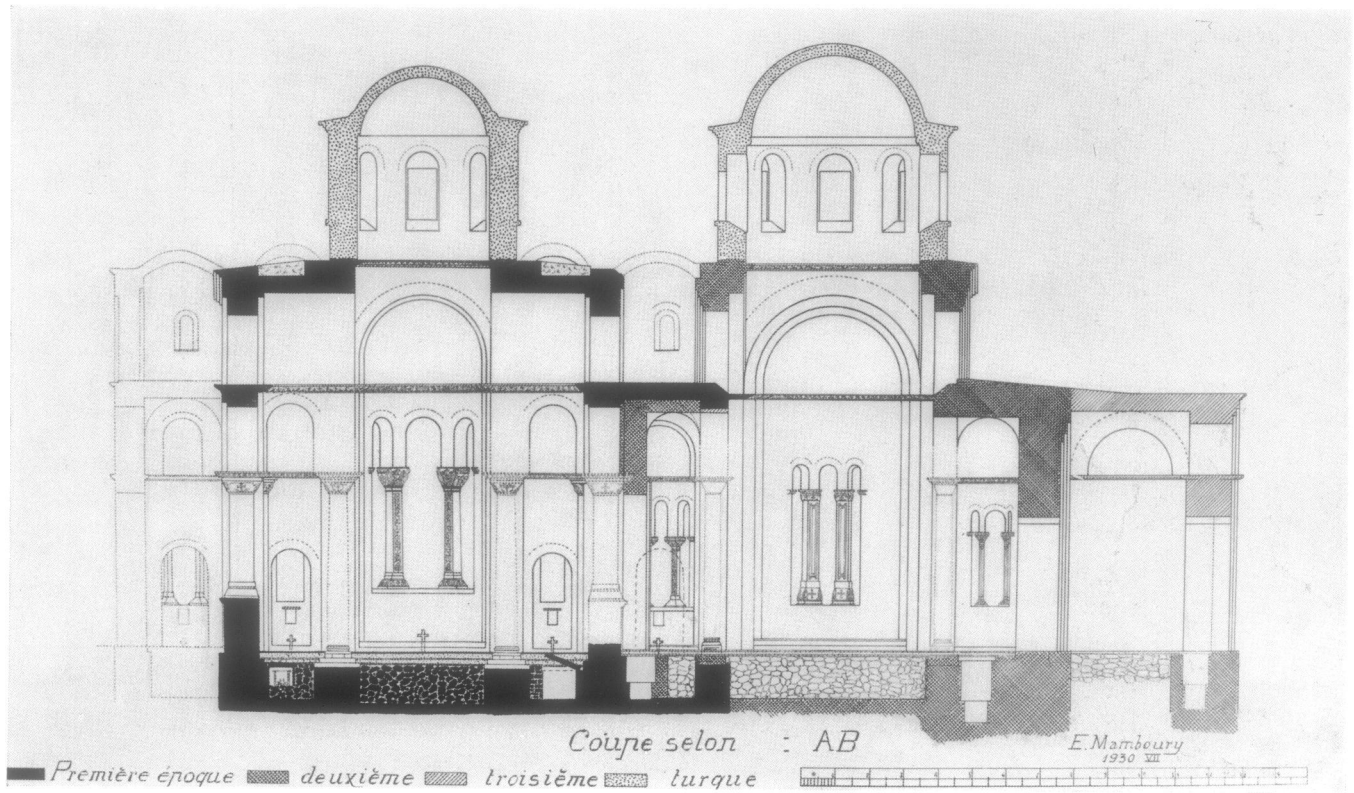
3. View from the Minaret (1937)



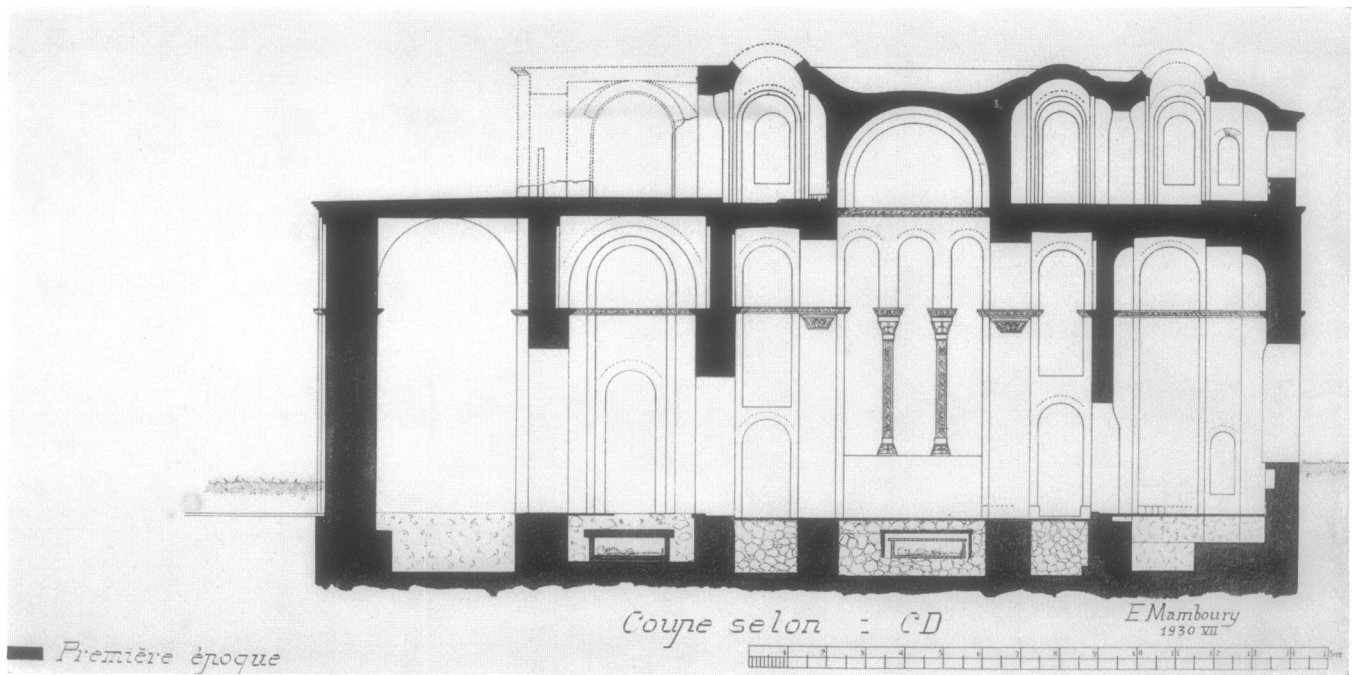
4. View of Apses from the East



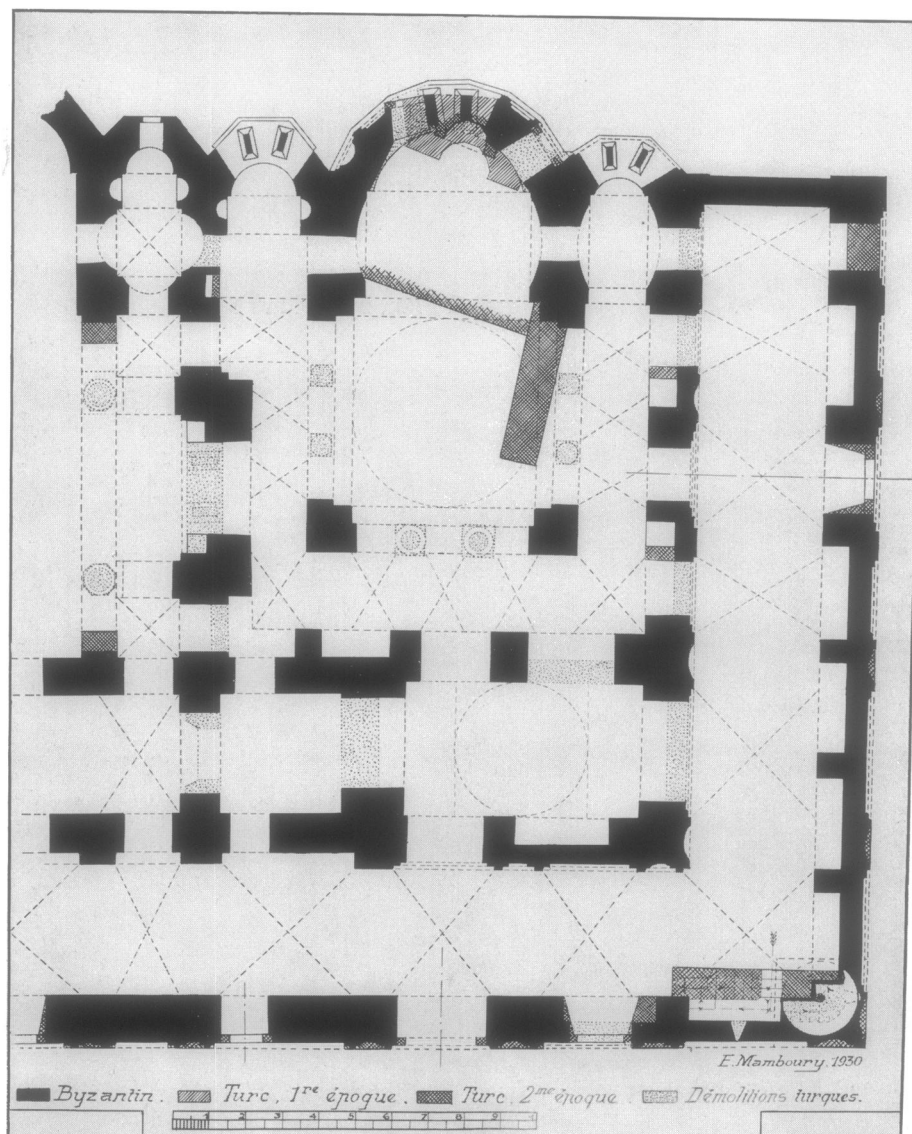
5. Reconstructed Ground Plan, by E. Mamboury



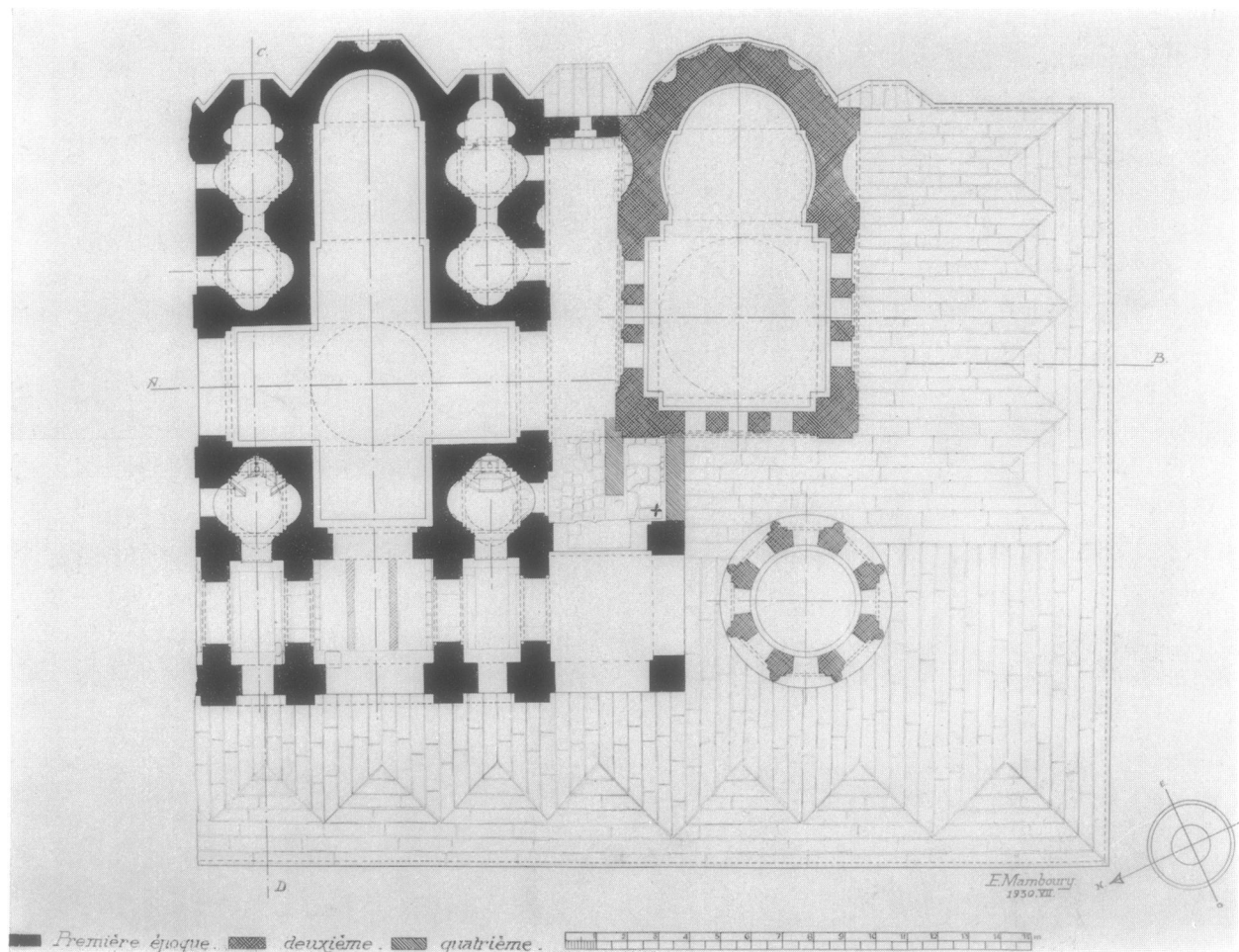
6. Transverse Section through Both Churches, by E. Mamboury



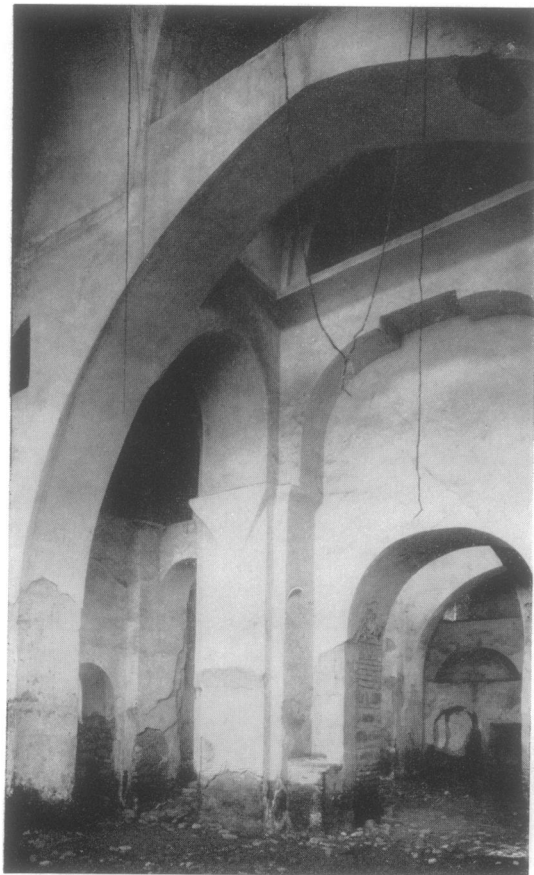
7. North Church. Longitudinal Section looking North, by E. Mamboury



8. South Church. Ground Plan, showing Turkish Alterations, by E. Mamboury



9. North and South Churches. Roof Plan, by E. Mamboury

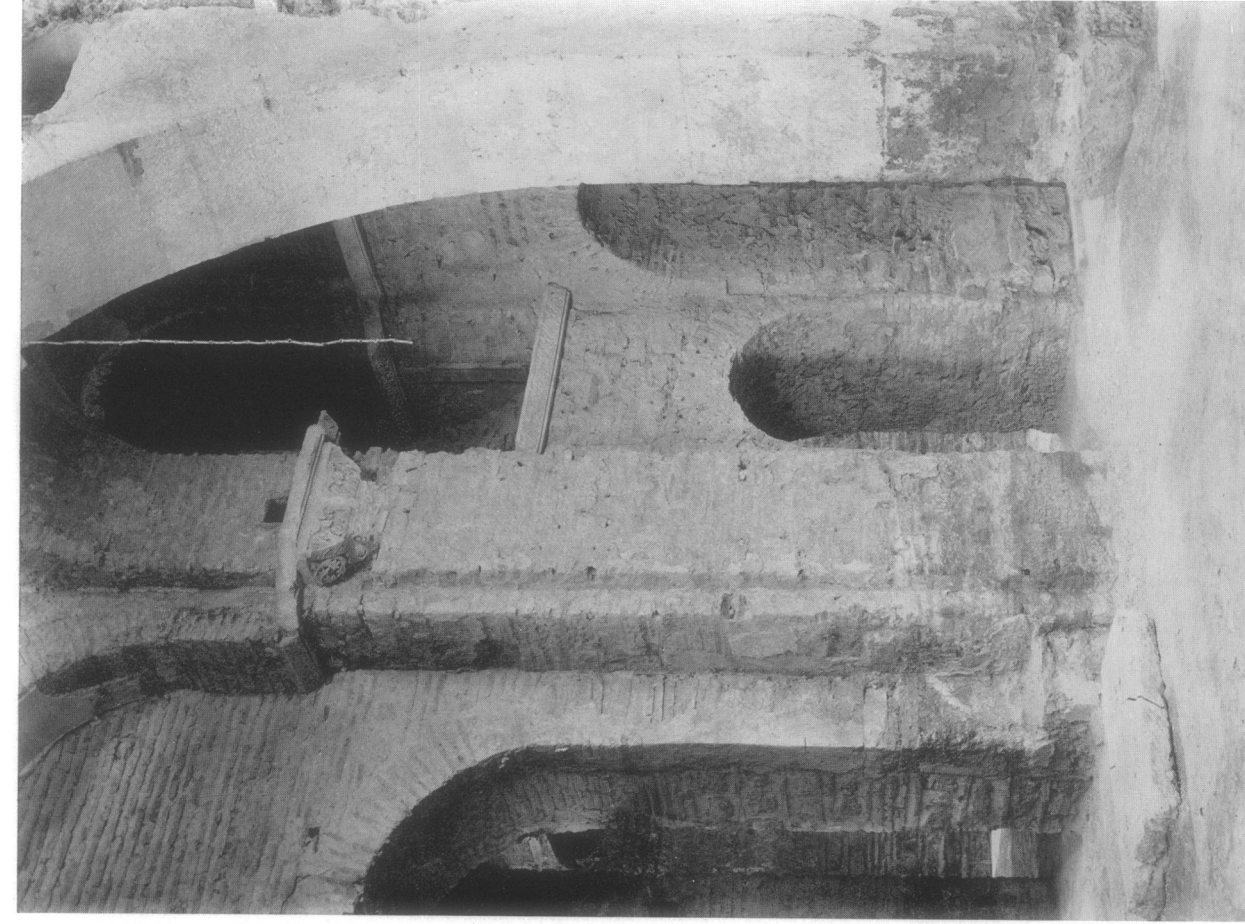


10. Before Removal of Plaster from Walls

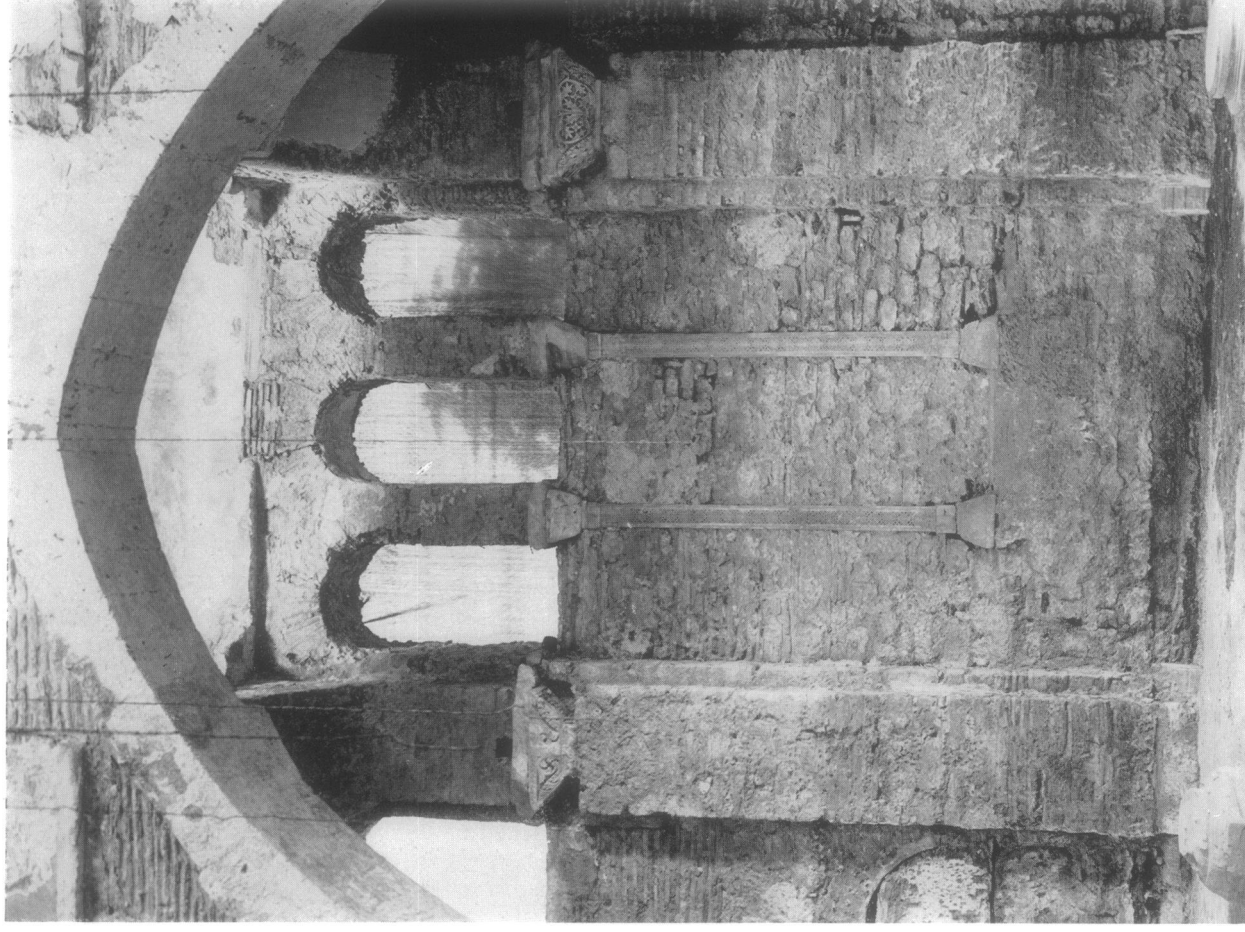


11. After Removal of Plaster from Walls

North Church, Southeast Corner

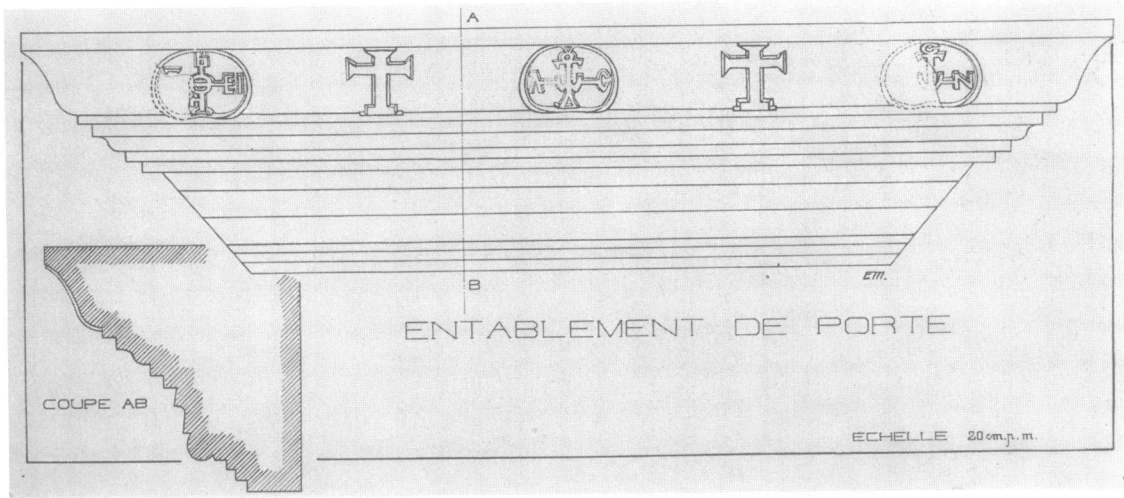


12. Southwest Corner



13. North Wall, Central Bay

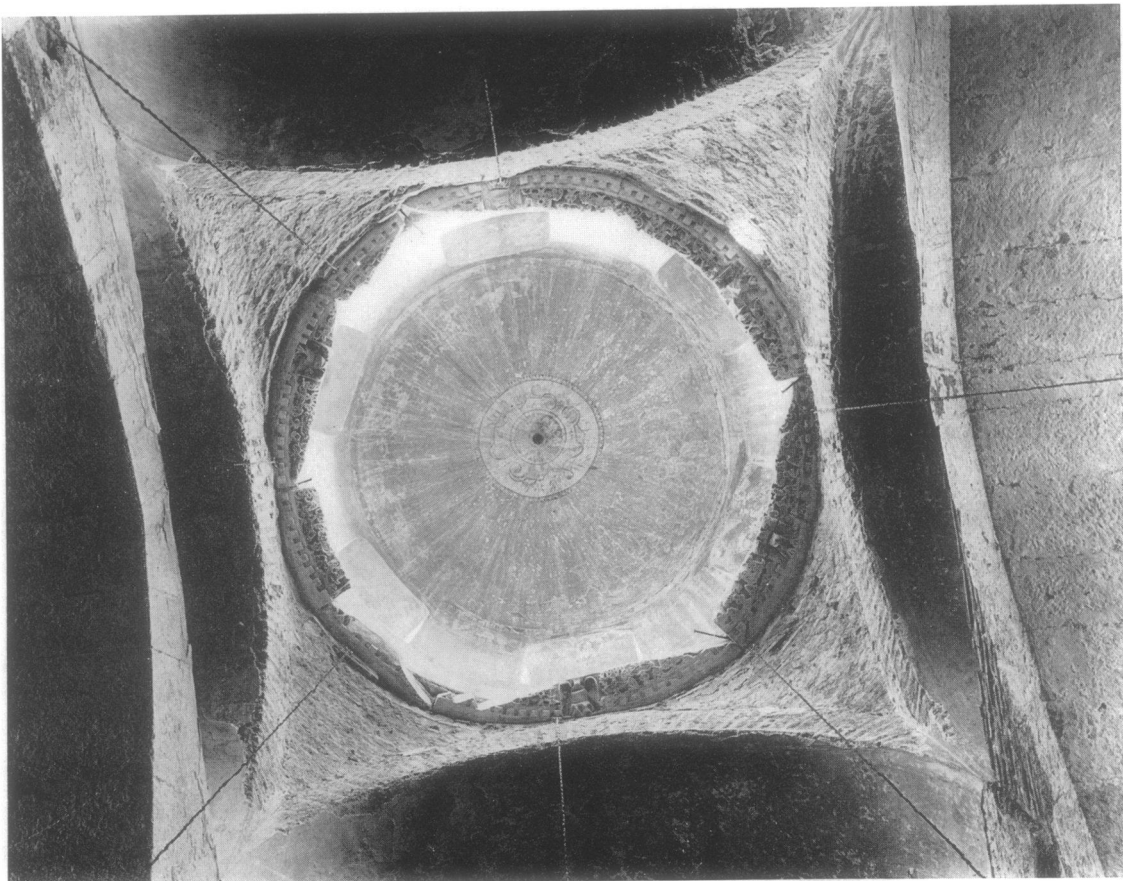
North Church



14. Central Door. Reconstruction of Entablature, by E. Mamboury



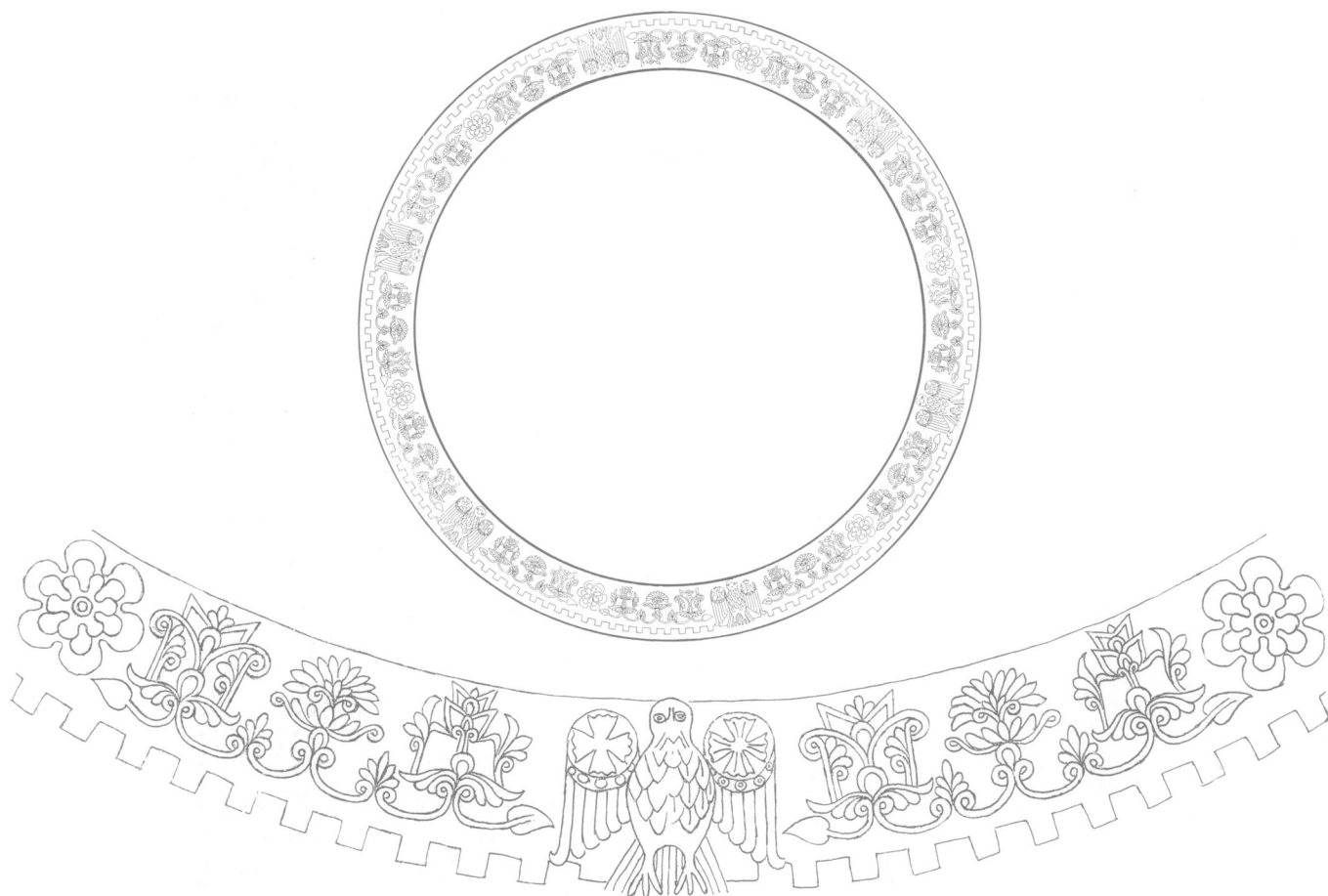
15. Plaster Casts of Monograms



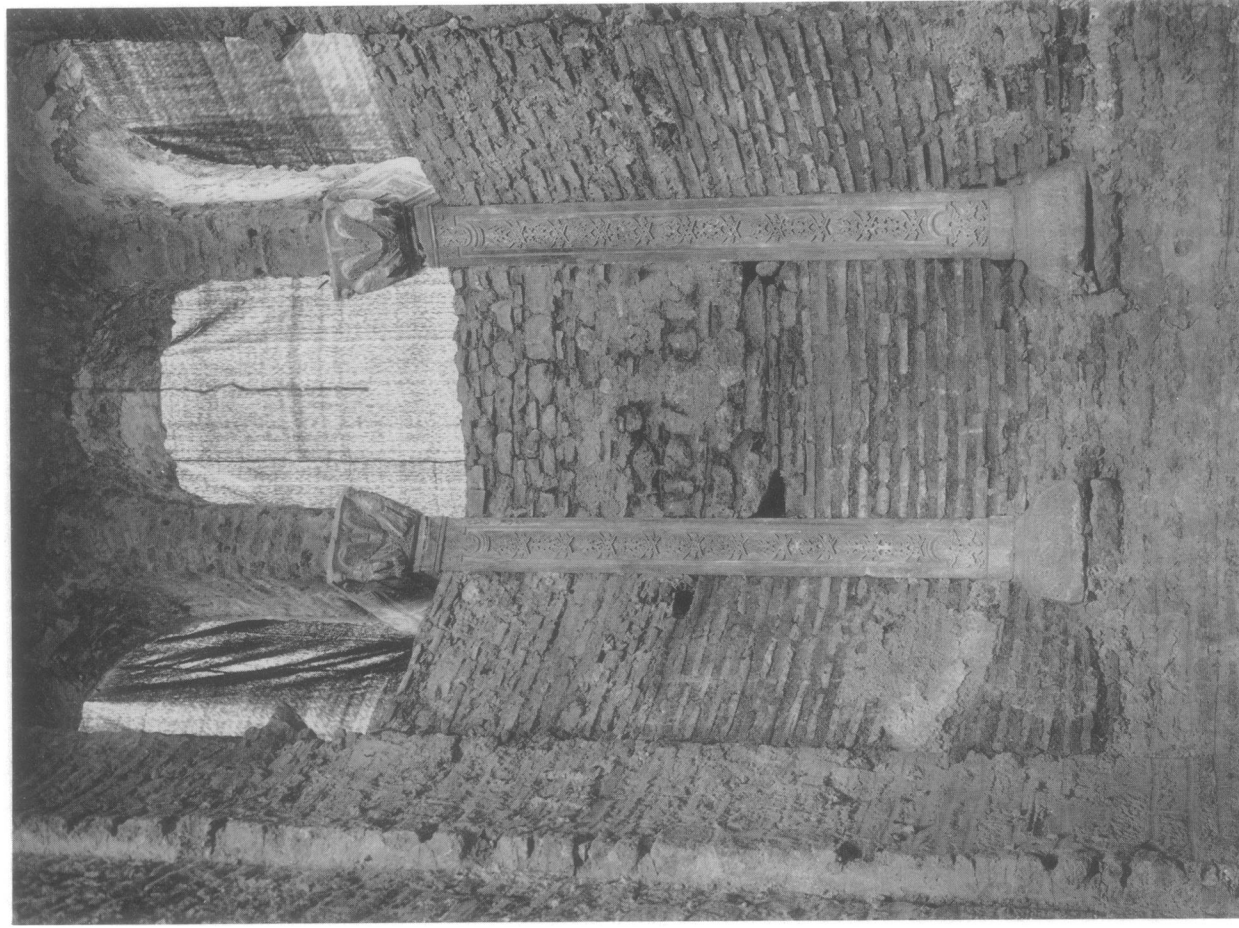
16. Dome
North Church



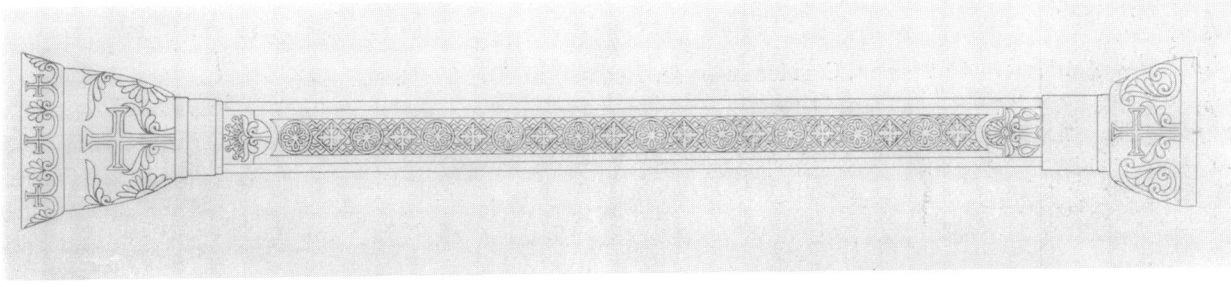
17. Fragments of Dome Cornice



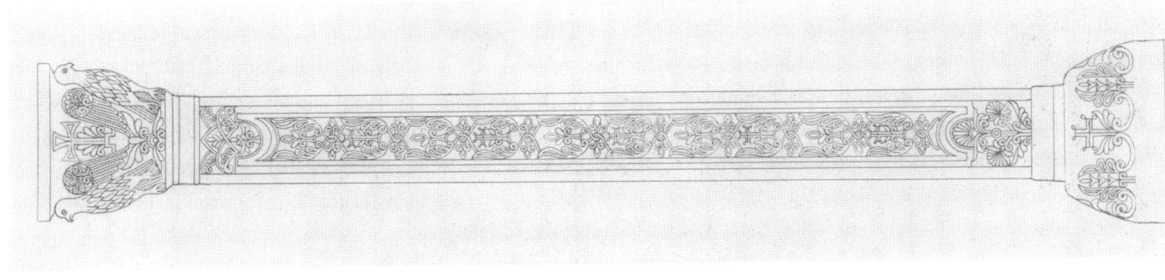
18. Dome Cornice. Reconstruction, by E. Mamboury
North Church



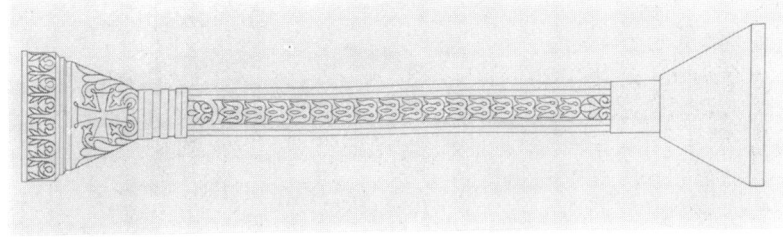
19. Apse Window



20 A. Mullion in
North Wall

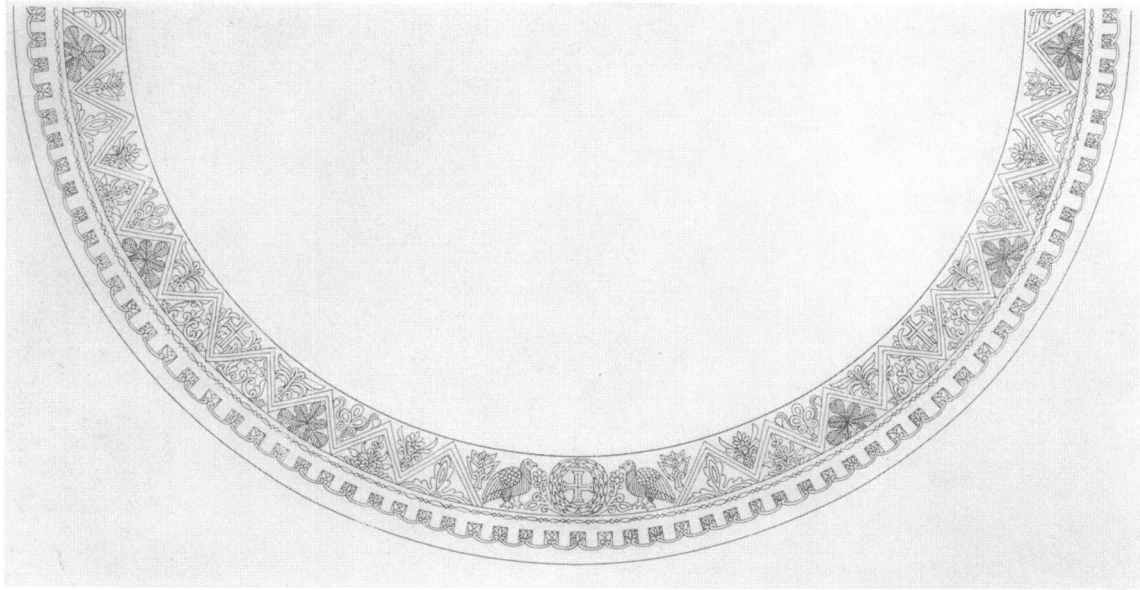


20 B. Mullion in
Apse Window



20 C. Mullion
in Apse of South
Outer Chapel

North Church



21. North Church, Cornice in Apse. Reconstruction, by E. Mamboury



22. Passage on Roof between North and South Churches, looking East



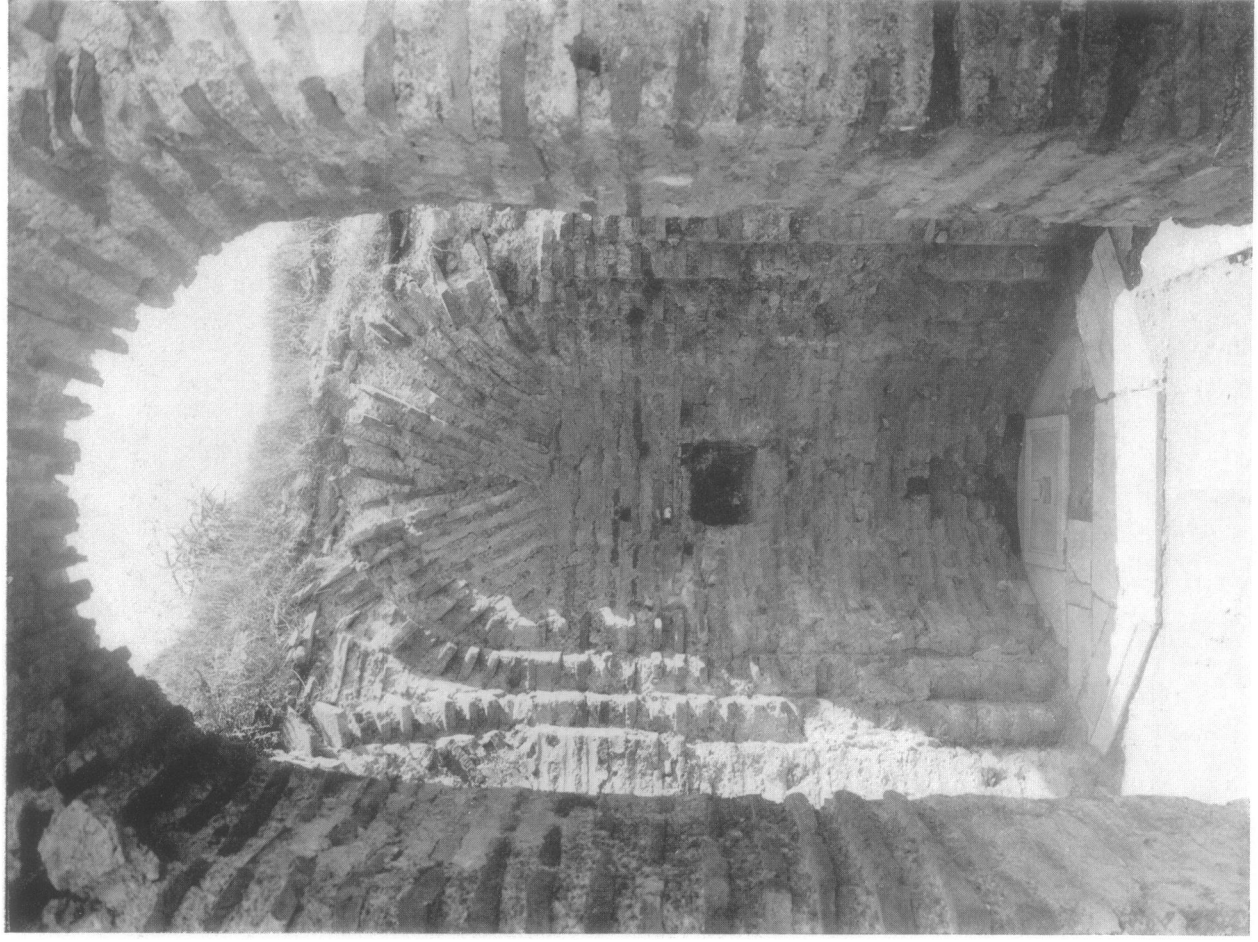
24. Southeast Roof Chapel, Interior



23. Amphora used in Vaulting



25. Conch of Northwest Roof Chapel



26. Conch of Southwest Roof Chapel



27. North Outer Chapel, Foundations of Apse

North Church



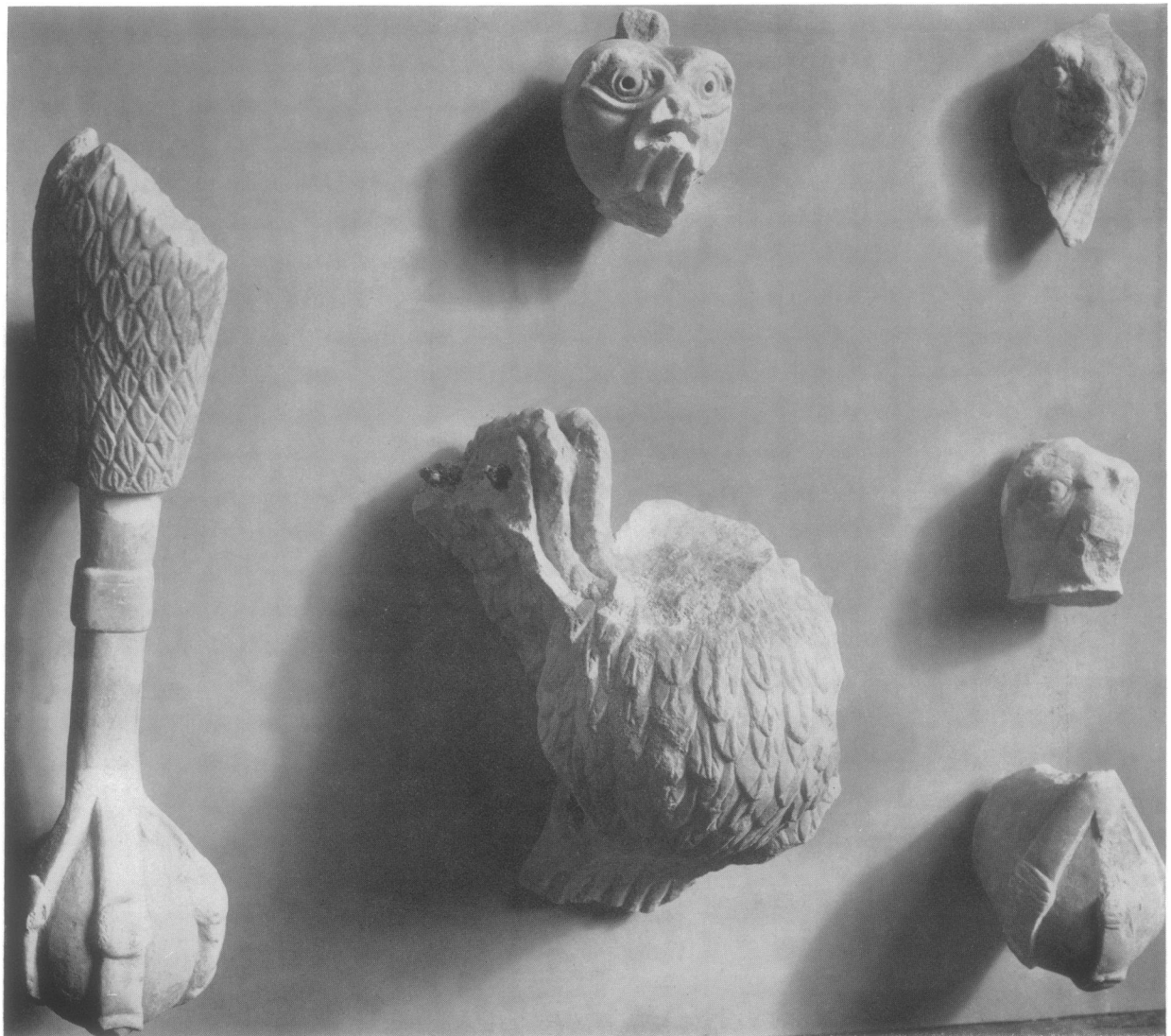
28. Trench in Main Apse



29. Fragments of Limestone Carvings found in North Church



30. Fragments of Marble Statuettes found in North Church



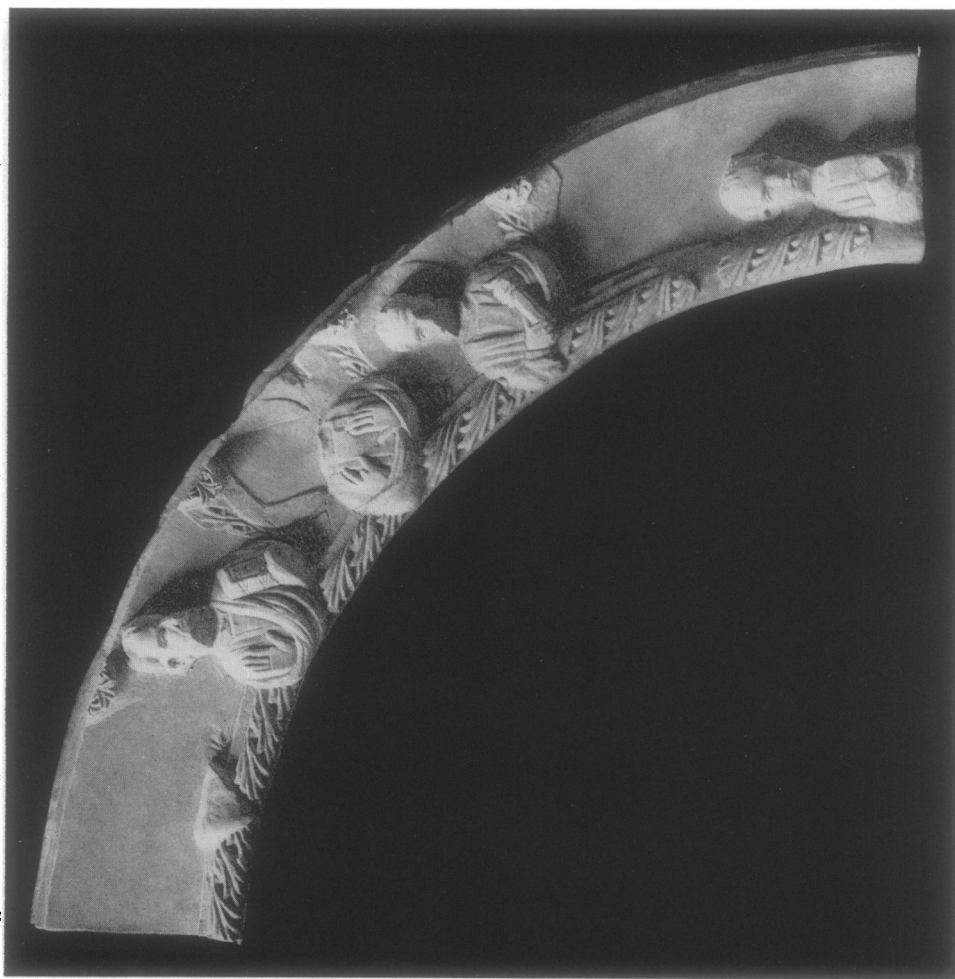
31. Fragments of Eagles found in North Church



32. Reconstructed Archivolte, with Busts of Apostles



33. Left-hand Half



34. Right-hand Half

Reconstructed Archivolt, with Busts of Apostles



35. Bust of Beardless Apostle



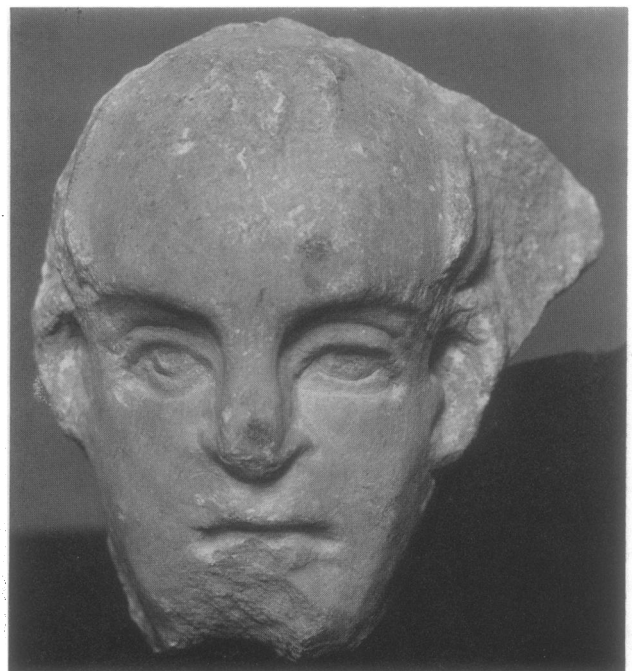
36. Head of St. Andrew



37. Upper Part of Christ's Head

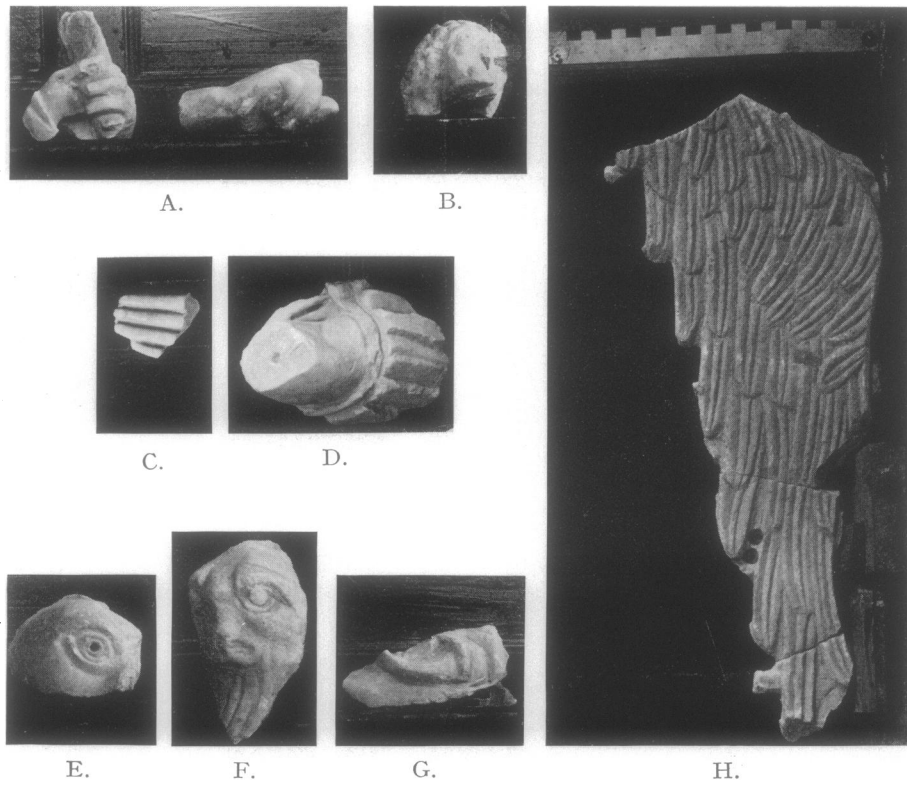


38. Head of Evangelist



39. Head of Beardless Apostle

Archivolt with Busts of Apostles, details



40. Fragments of Sculpture found in North Church



41. Fragments of Plaque representing a Peacock



A.



B.



C.



D.

42. Carved Slabs found in North Church



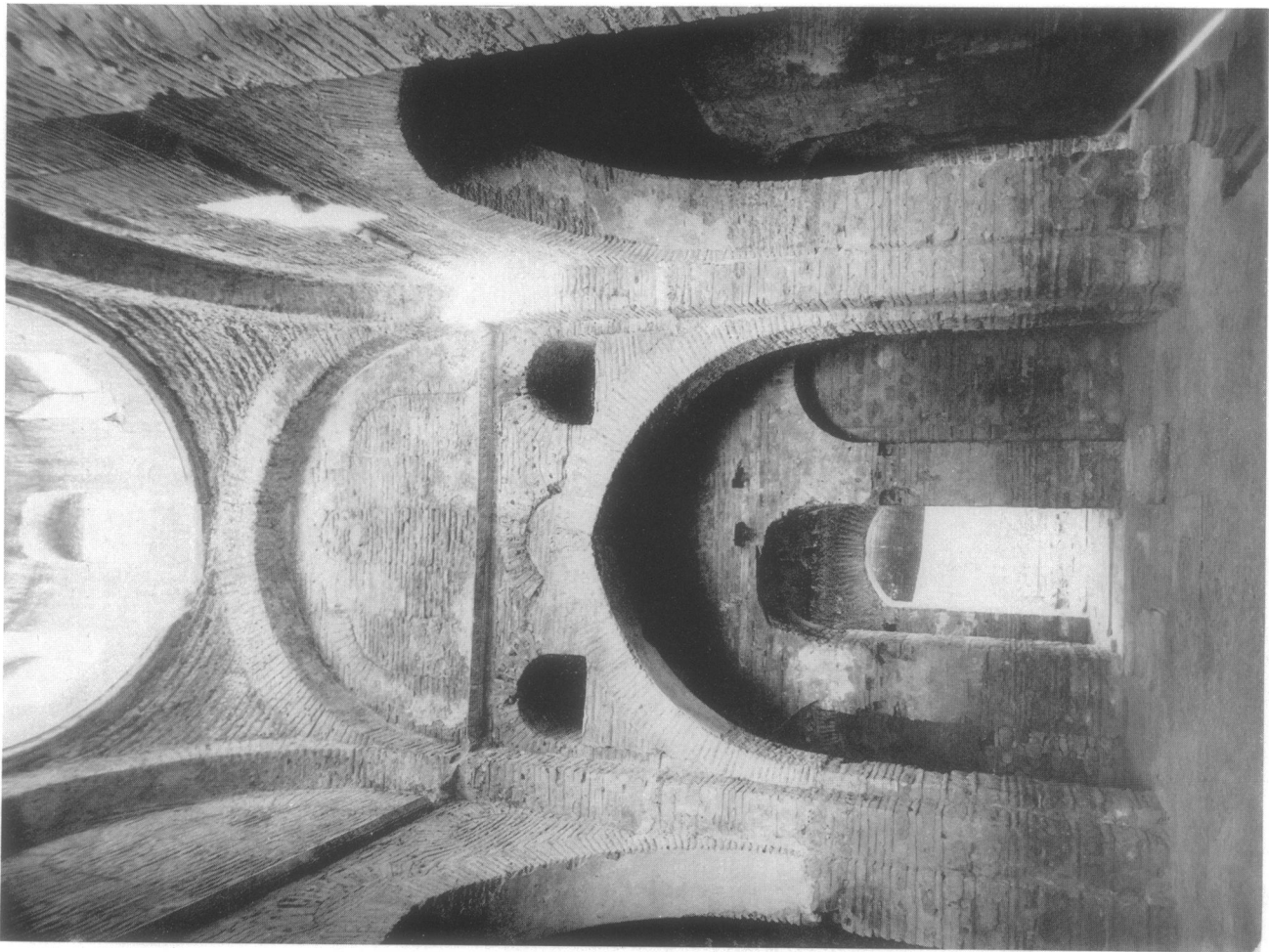
43. Carved Slabs found in North Church



44. Various Carved Pieces from North Church



45. Carved Cornices and Capital from North Church

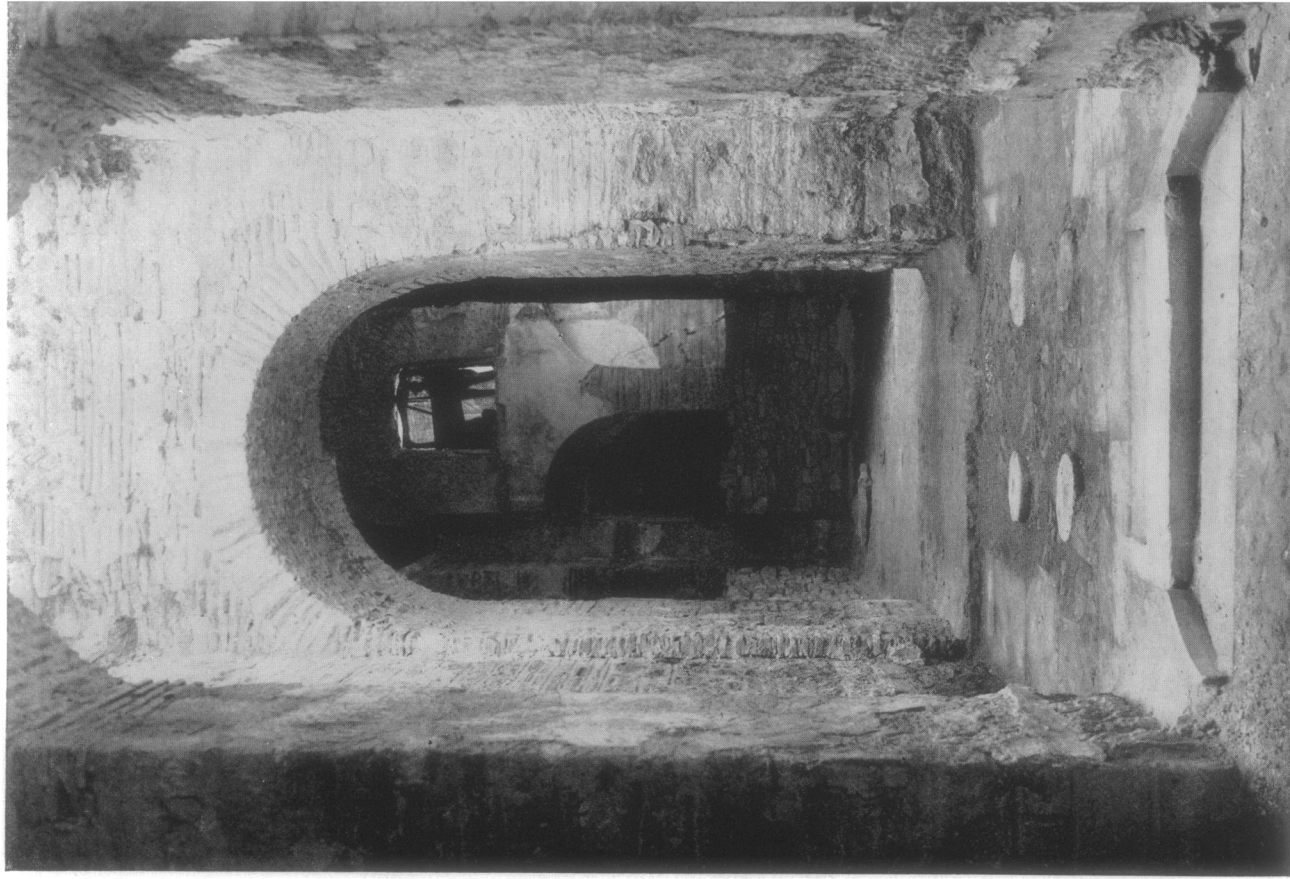


46. Interior, looking West

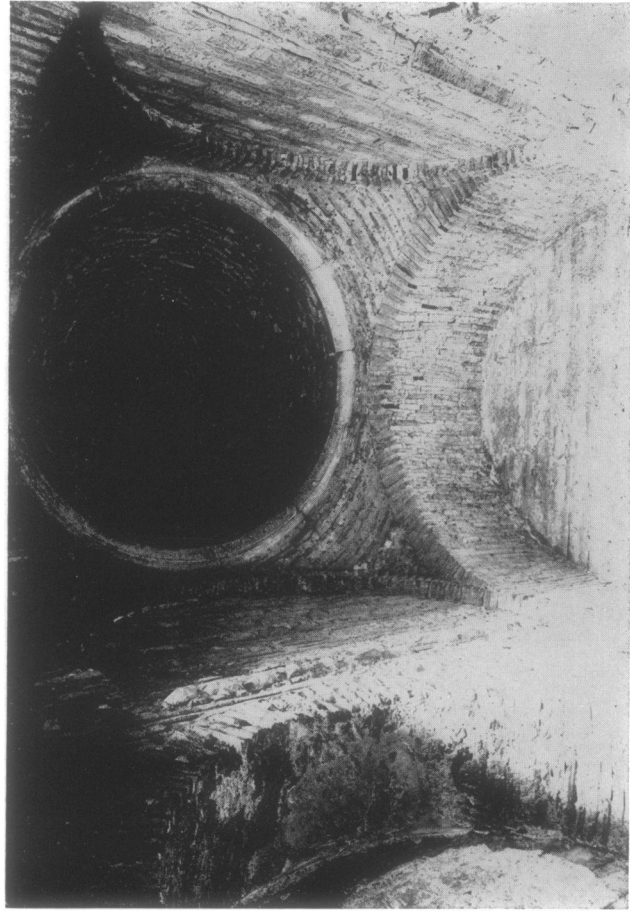


47. Interior, looking East

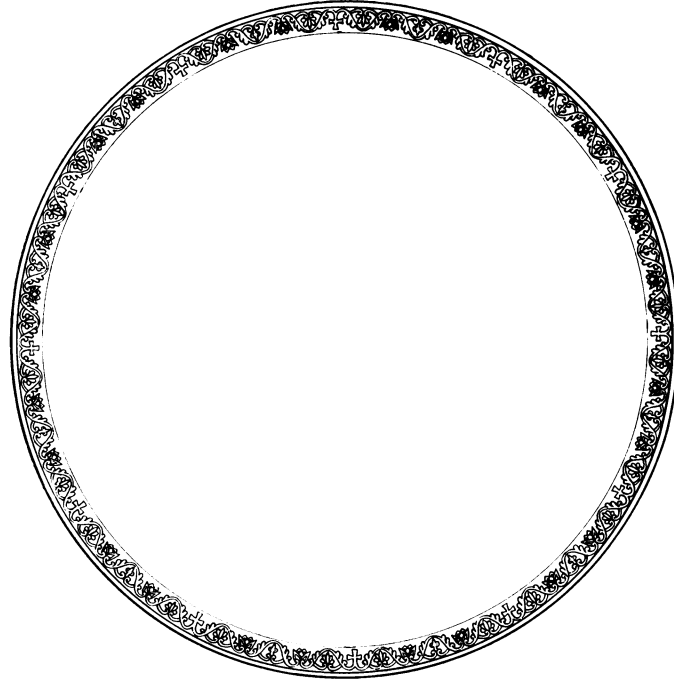
South Church



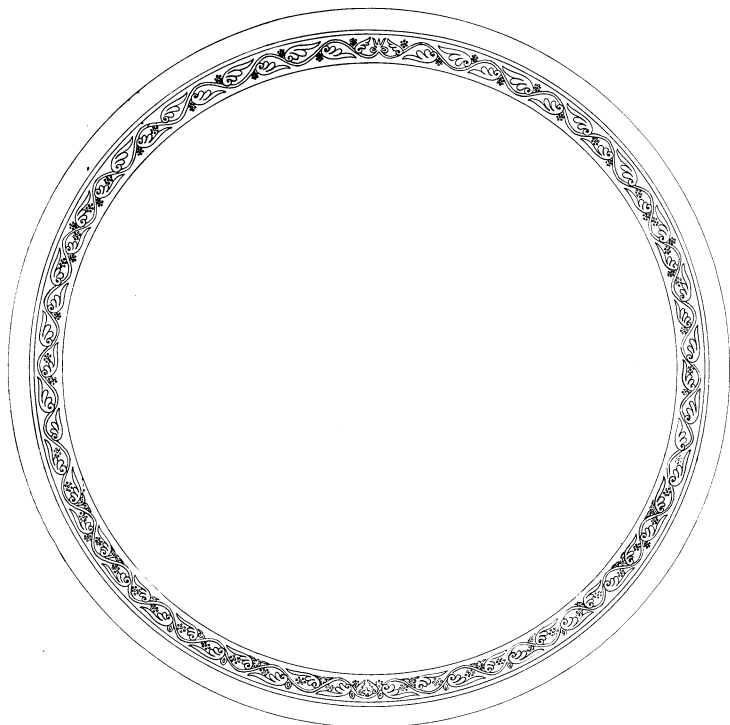
48, North Church, Staircase Well, looking South



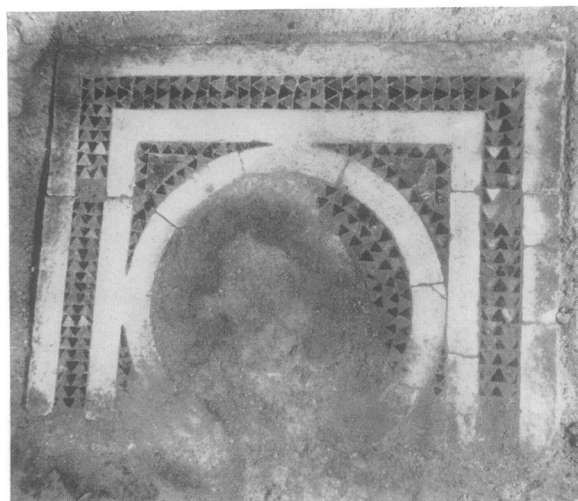
49. South Church, Narthex, Dome



50. South Church, Narthex, Dome Cornice. Reconstruction, by E. Mamboury



51. Main Dome, Cornice.
Reconstruction, by E. Mamboury



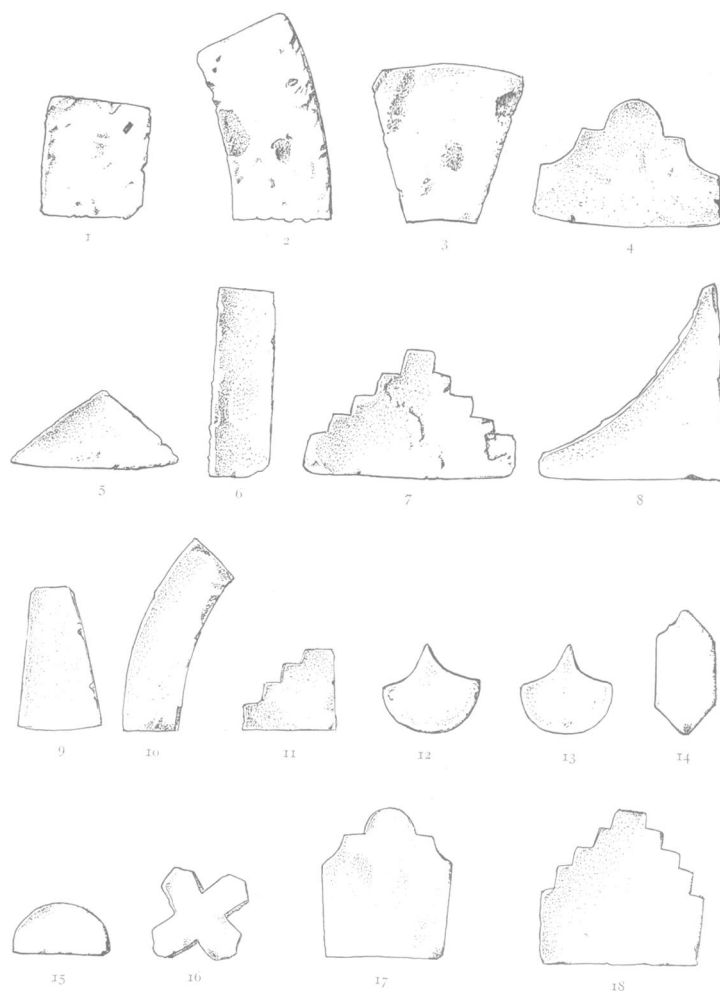
52. Remains of *Opus Sectile* Pavement



53. Remains of *Opus Sectile* Pavement



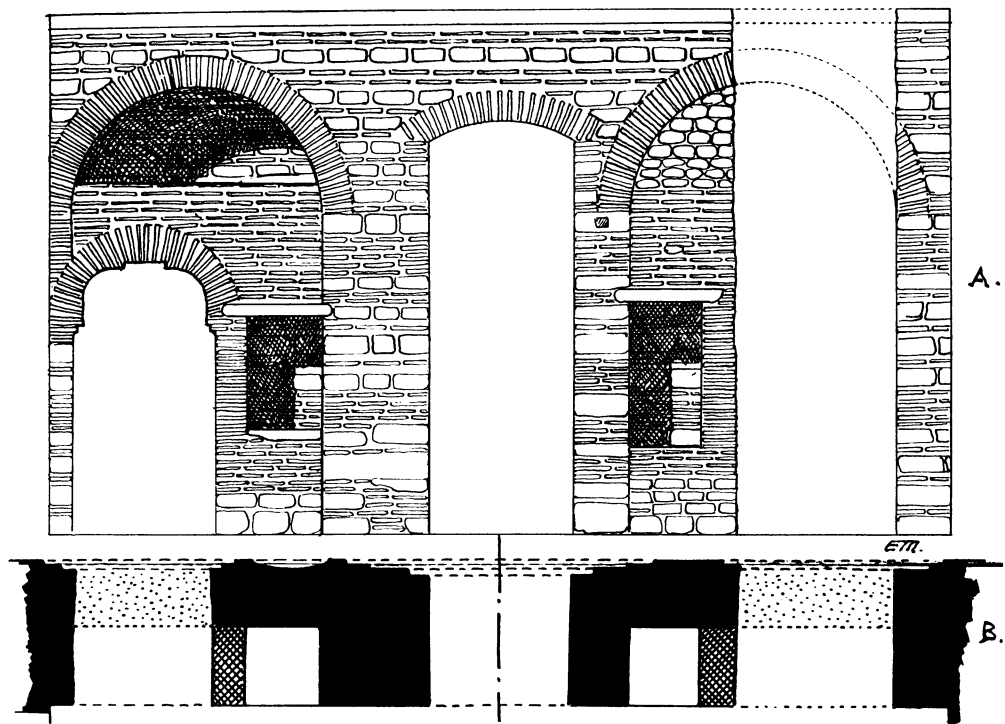
54. West Pair of Column Bases



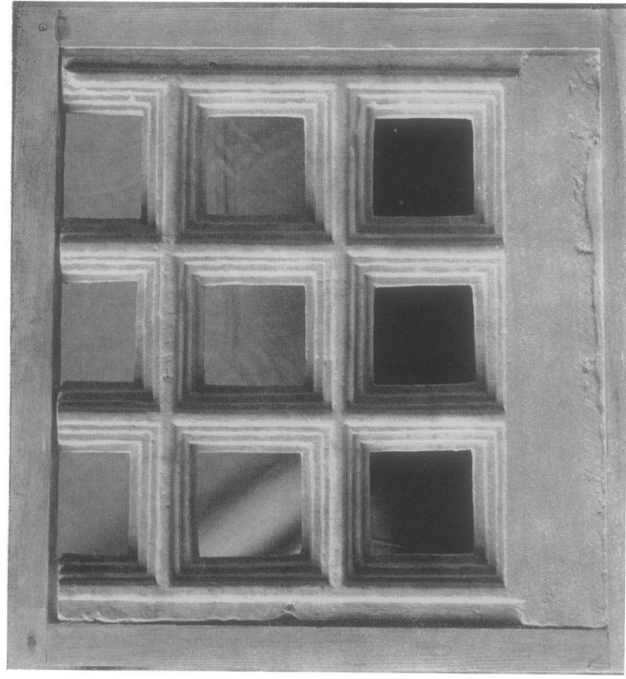
55. Plaques from *Opus Sectile* Pavement.
1-4, Green Marble with White Veins. 5, Red. 6-7, Red with
Veins. 8, Pink. 9, Pink with Veins. 10, Yellow. 11-14, Blue-
Grey. 15-18, White



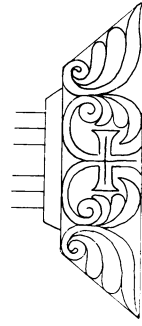
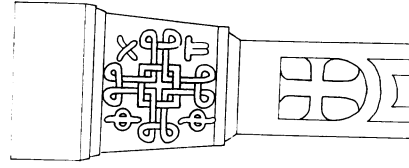
56. Interior, looking Southeast (1937)



57. Niches in South Aisle. Elevation and Plan, by E. Mamboury
South Church



58. Marble Window Grille found in South Church



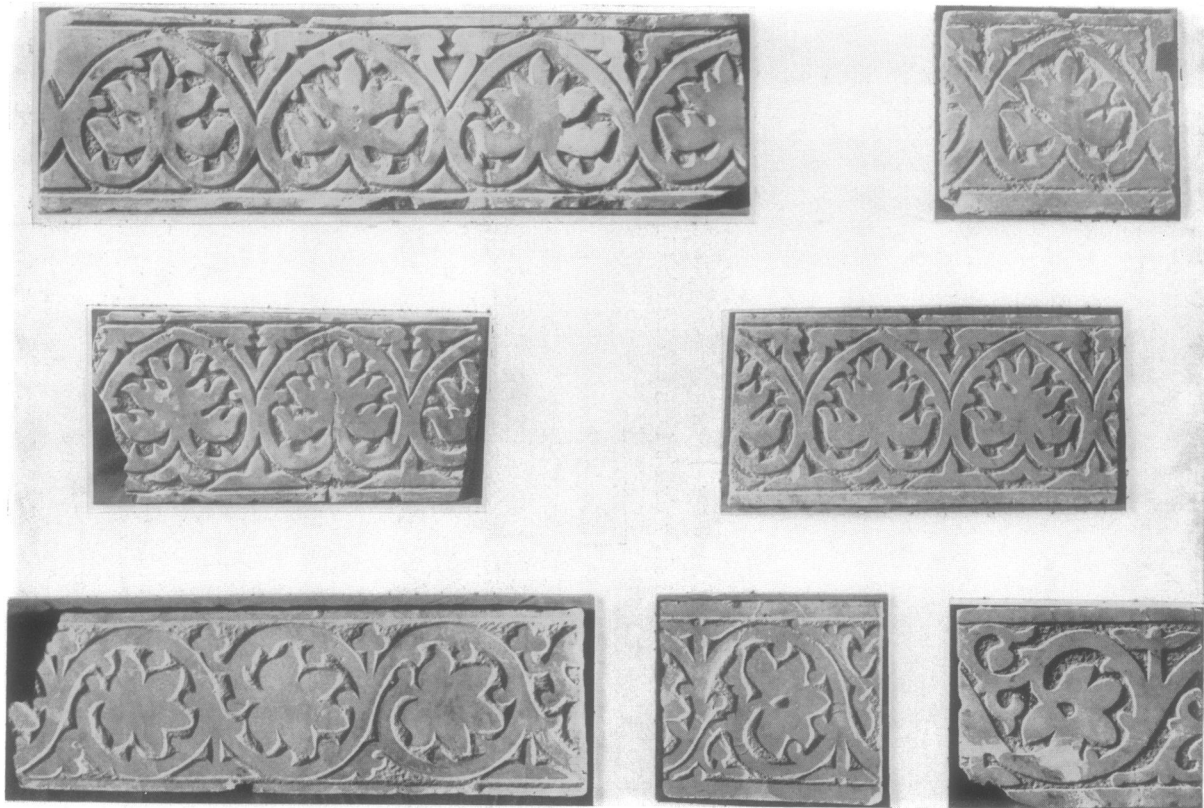
59. South Church,
Diaconicon, Capital and Base
of Mullion in Apse



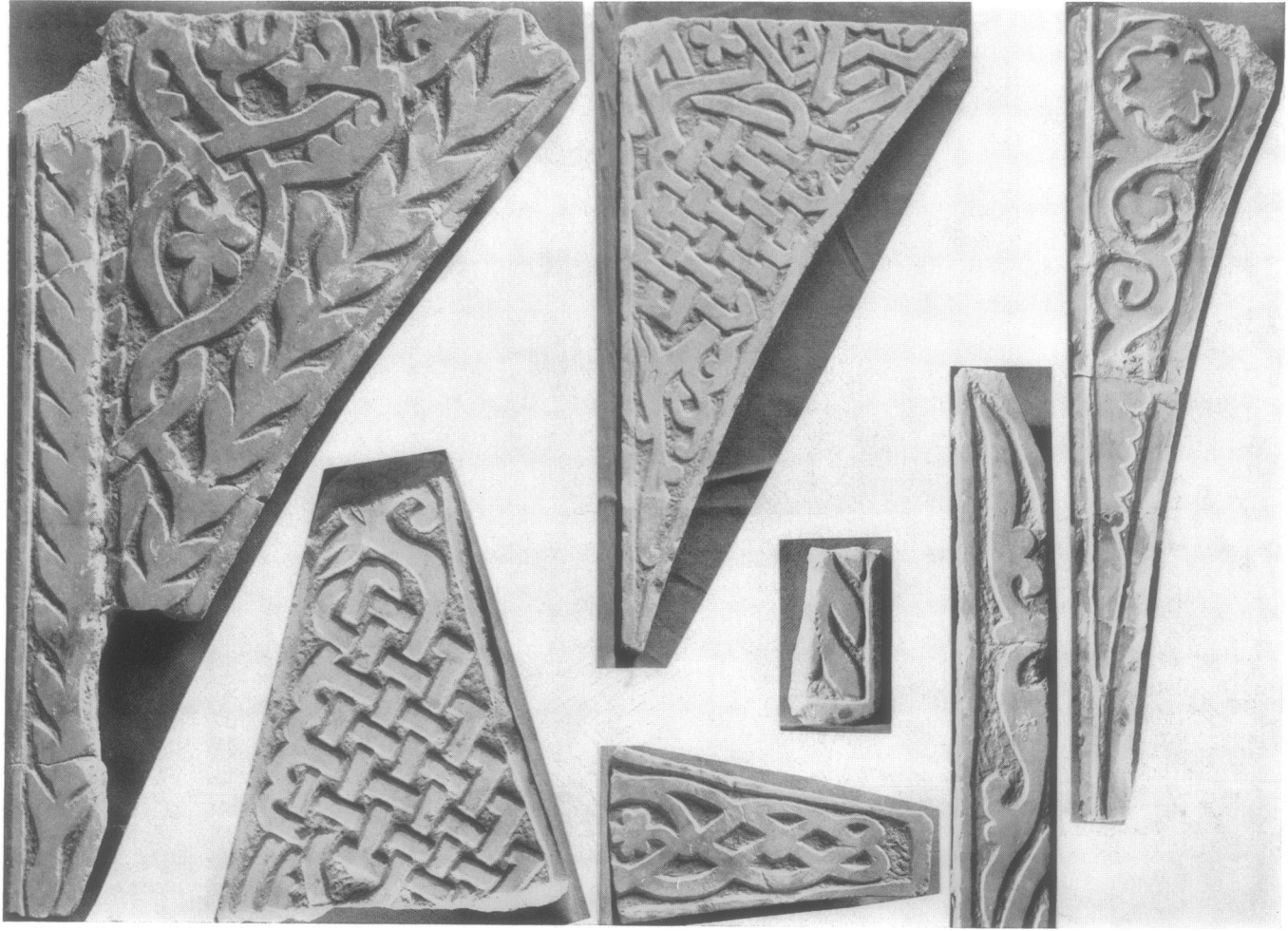
60. Perambulatory, South Arm, looking West



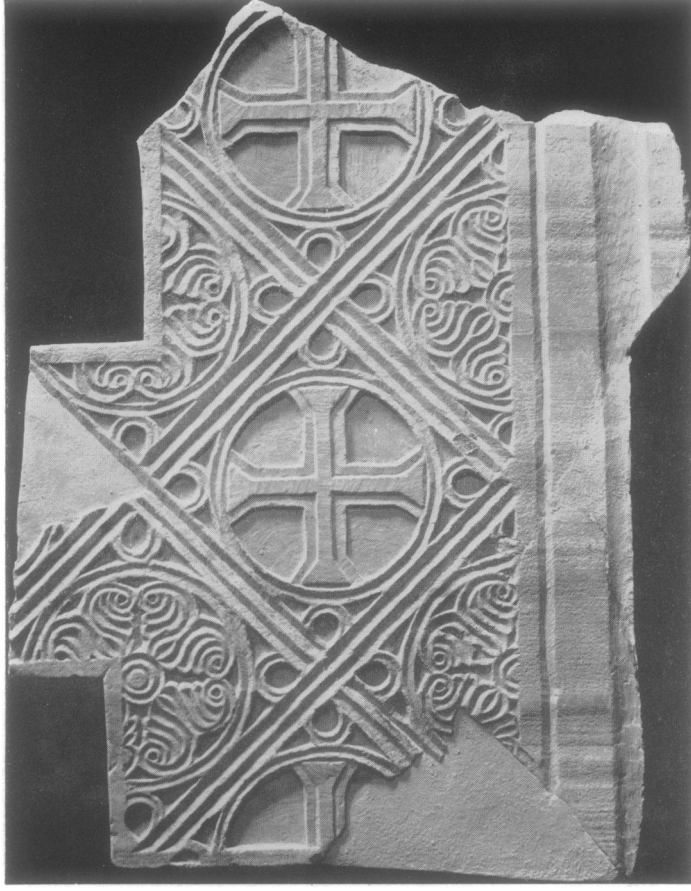
61. Perambulatory, Fragment of Fresco in Niche blocked up by Minaret Staircase.
Watercolor, by E. Mamboury



62. Champlevé Carvings from South Arm of Perambulatory



63. Champlévé Carvings from South Arm of Perambulatory



64. Carved Slab found in South Arm of Perambulatory (?)



65. Part of Slab shown in Figure 64, found in North Church



66.

ΙΗΠΤ.
 ΝΗΑΕ
 ΕΤΗΡΑΕ
 ΓΡΟΠΟΕΘ

A.

ΛΗ
 ΩΝ^{B.} ^{C.} ΗΓΑΝ

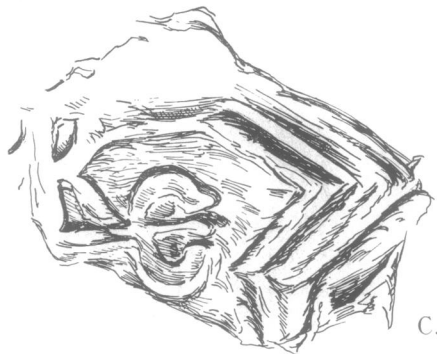
67.



A.



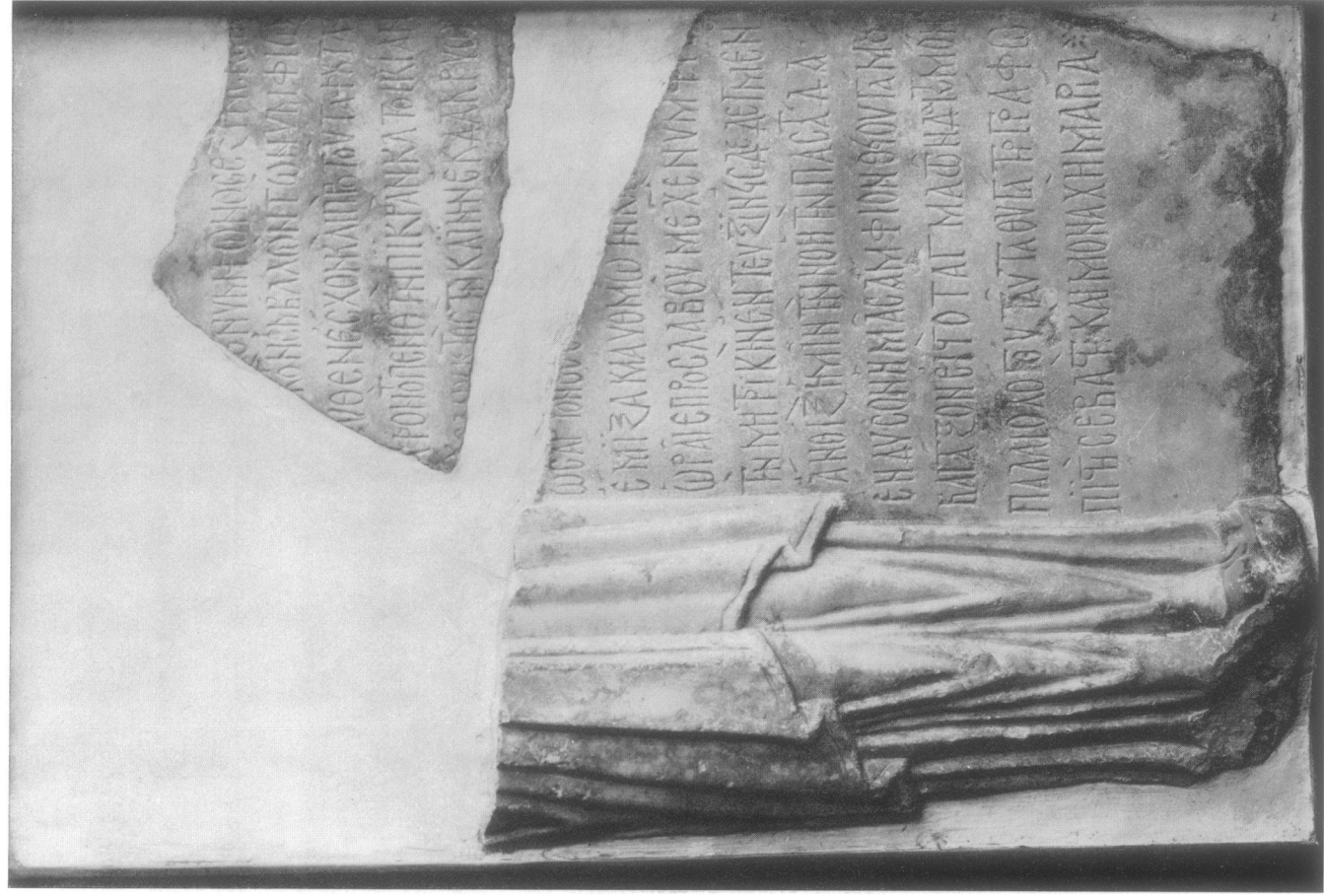
B.



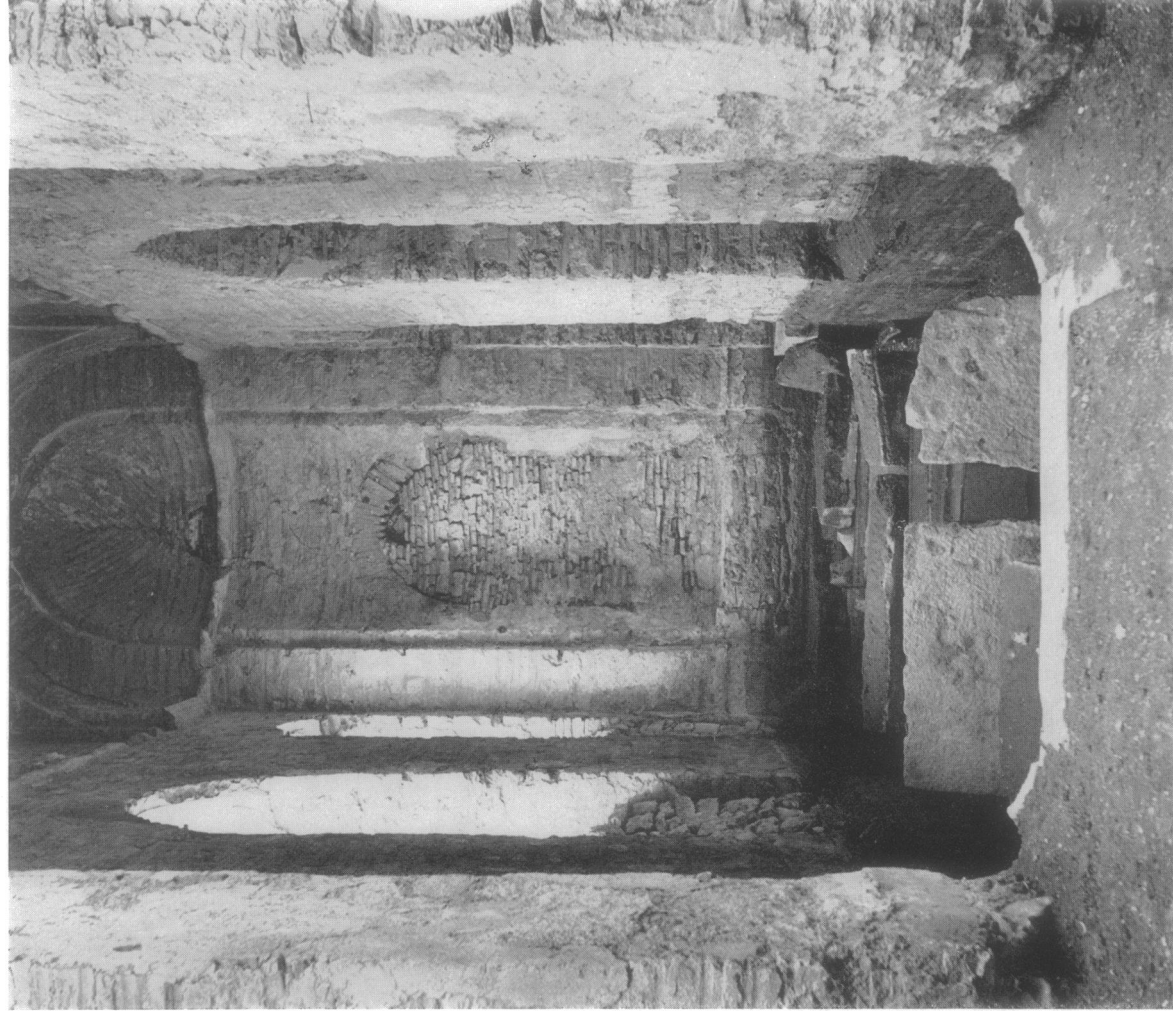
C.

68.

Fragments of Sepulchral Slabs



69. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Sepulchral Stele of a Maria Palaeologina



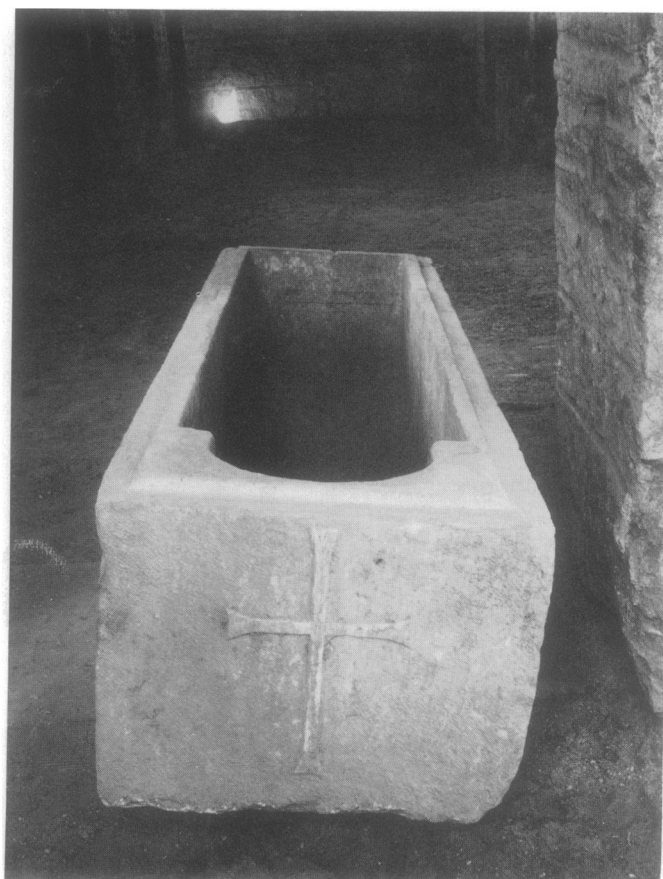
70. North Church, Narthex, looking North (1935)



71. Sarcophagi under Narthex Floor (1937)

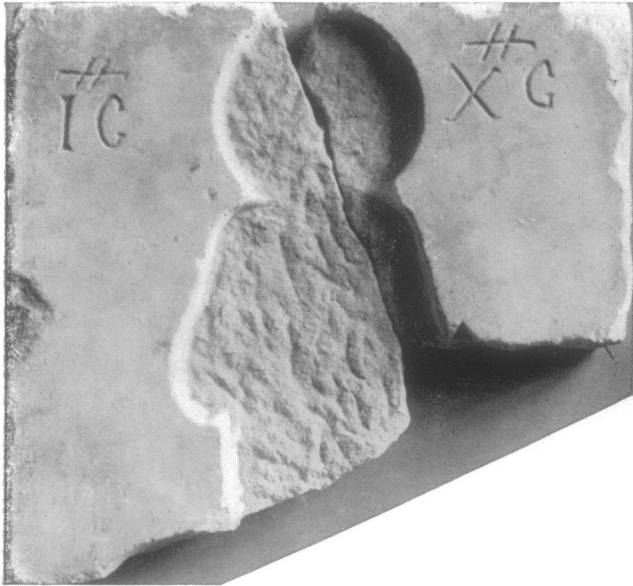


72. Sarcophagi under Narthex Floor

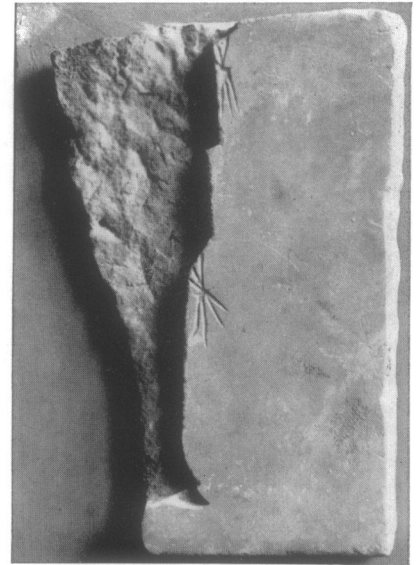


73. Sarcophagus from Narthex

North Church



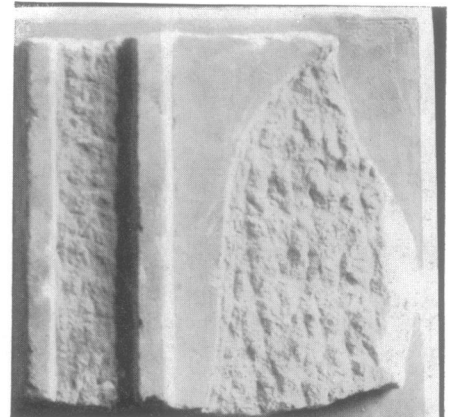
A



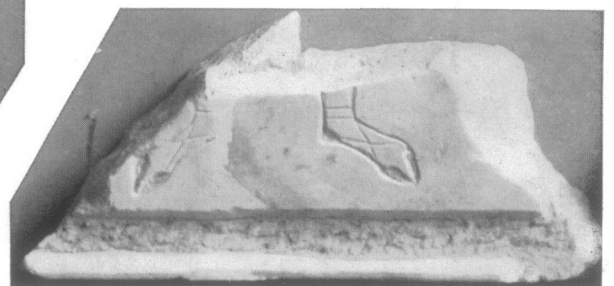
B



C

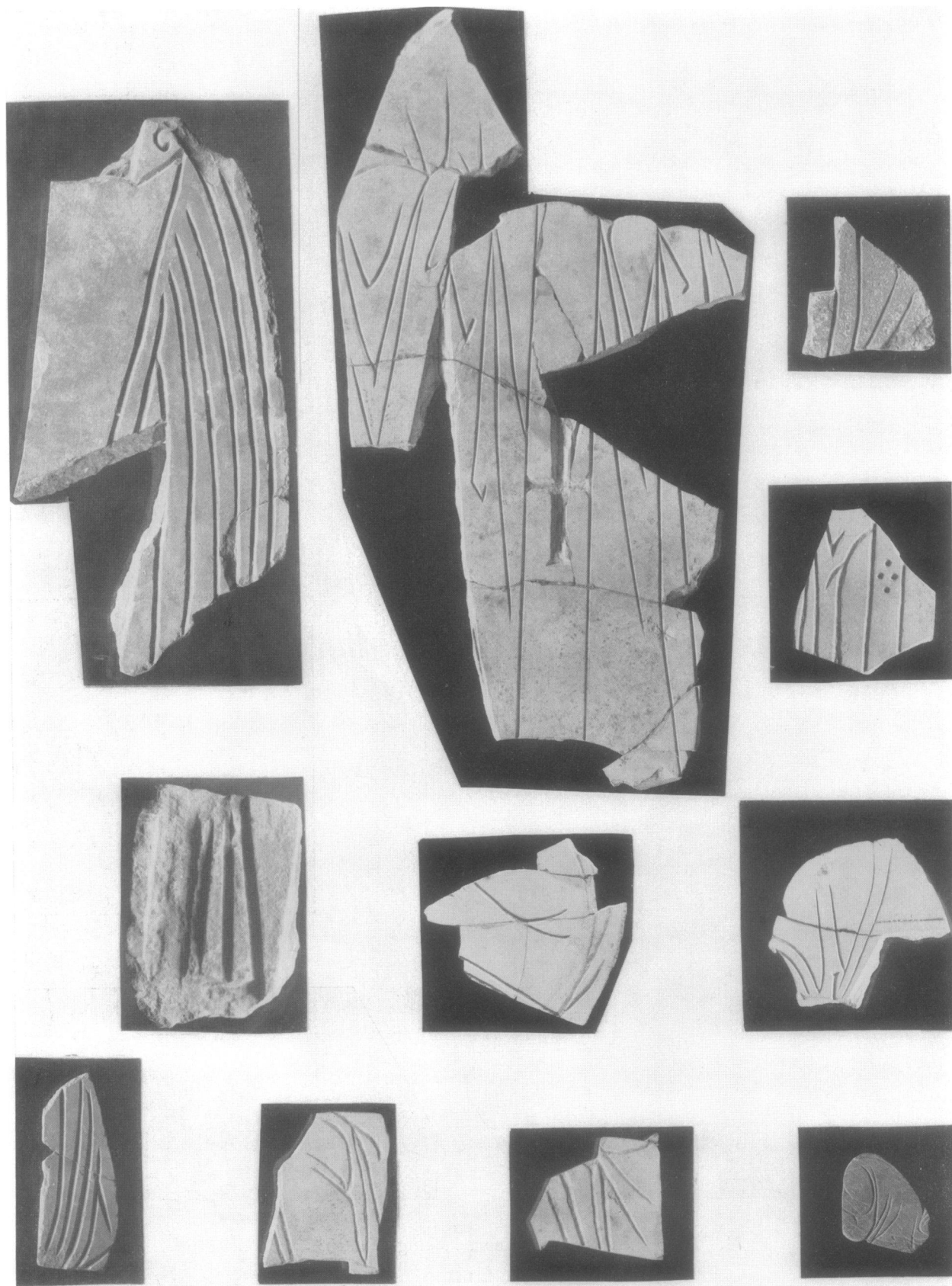


D

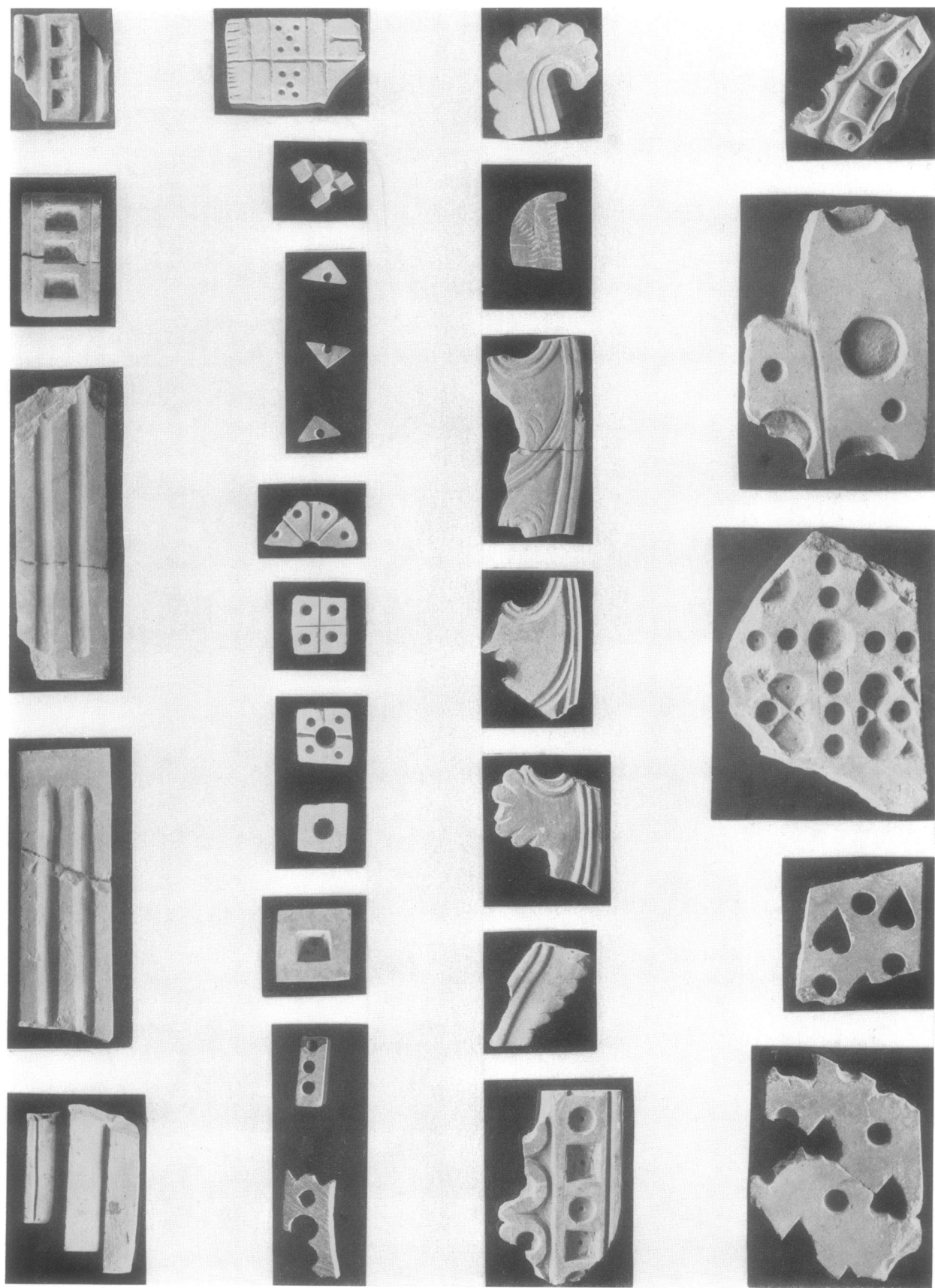


E

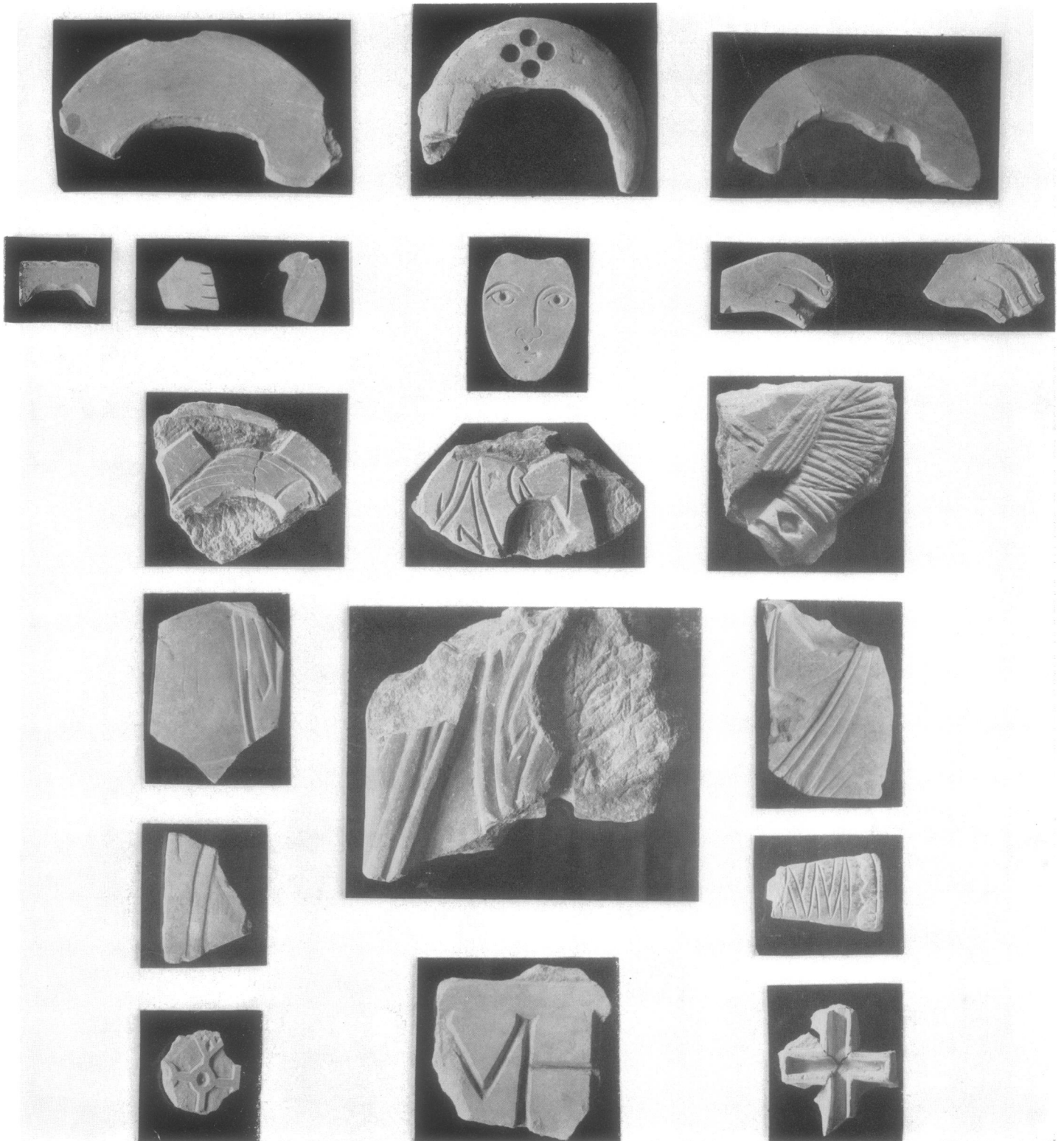
74. Fragments of Marble Icons lacking Inlaid Decoration



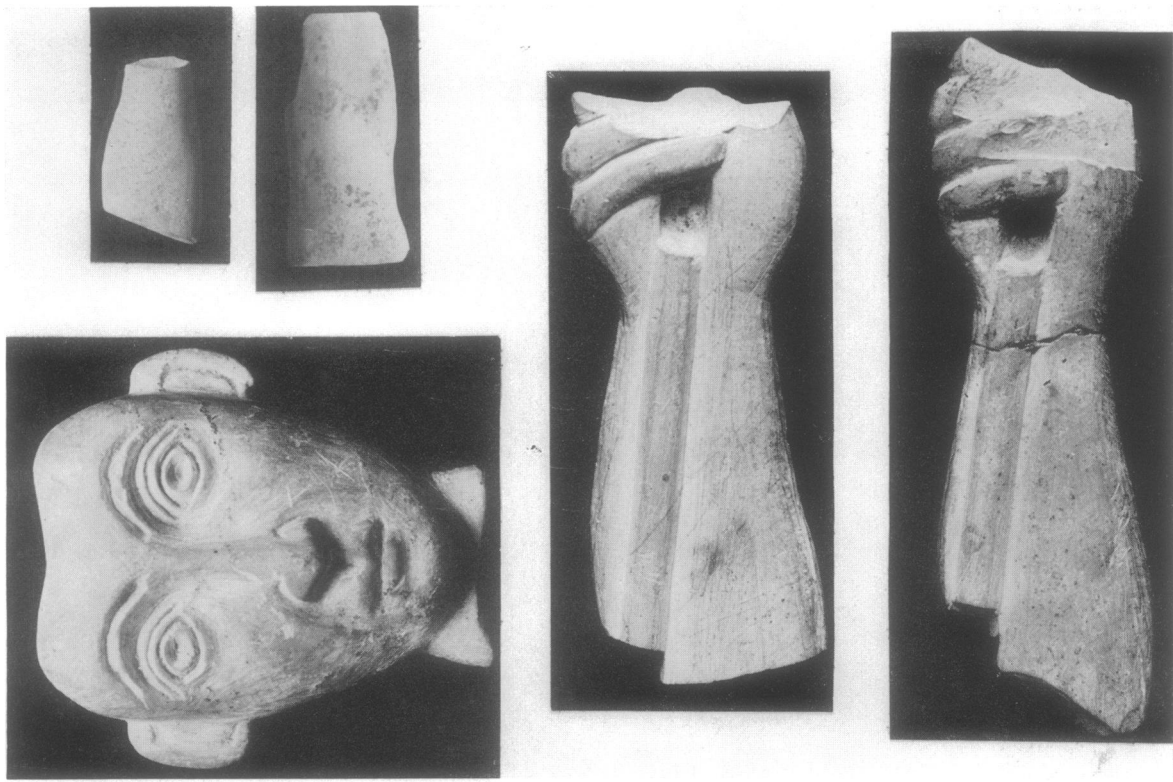
75. Fragments of Incised White Inlay belonging to Icons



76. Fragments of Inlaid Icons



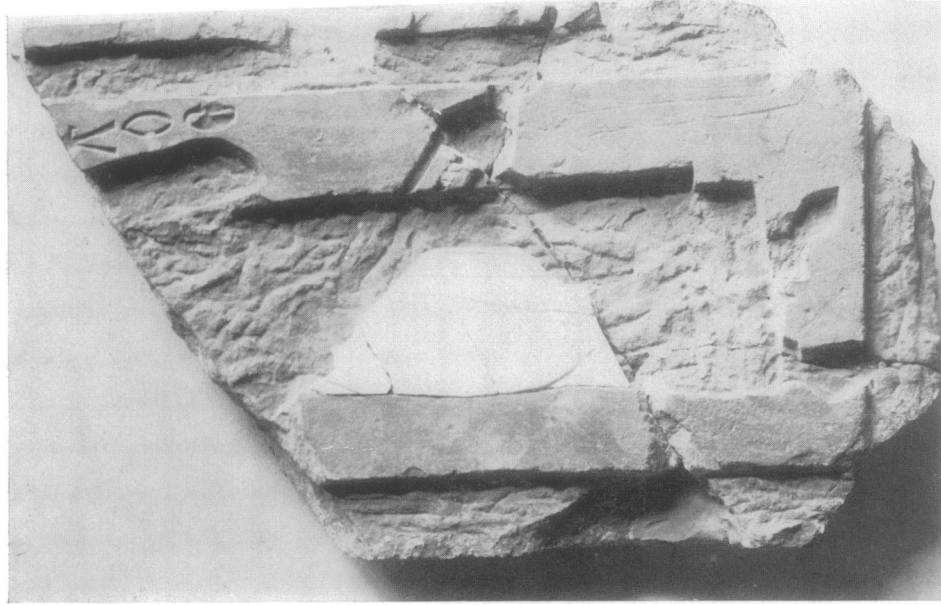
77. Fragments of Inlaid Icons



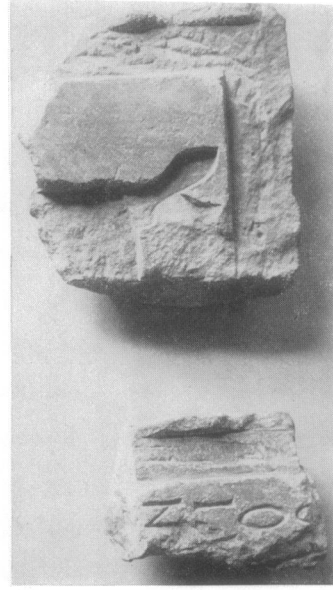
78. Fragments of Inlaid Icons



79. Icon of St. Eudocia



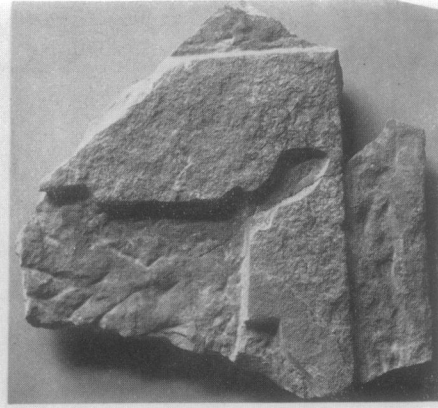
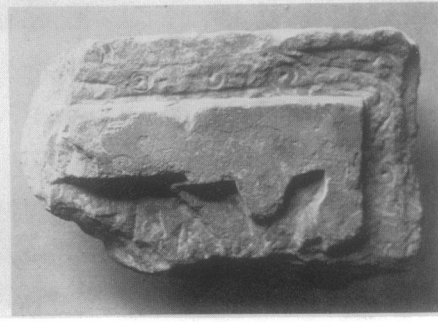
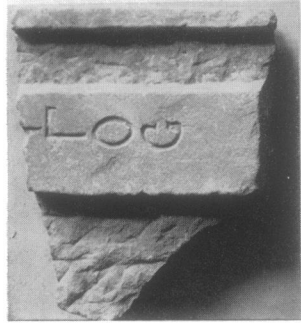
A.



B.

C.

80.

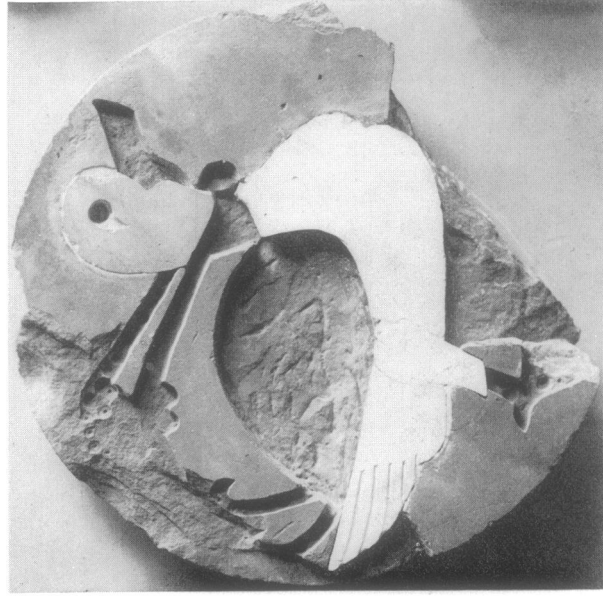


Fragments of Inlaid Icons

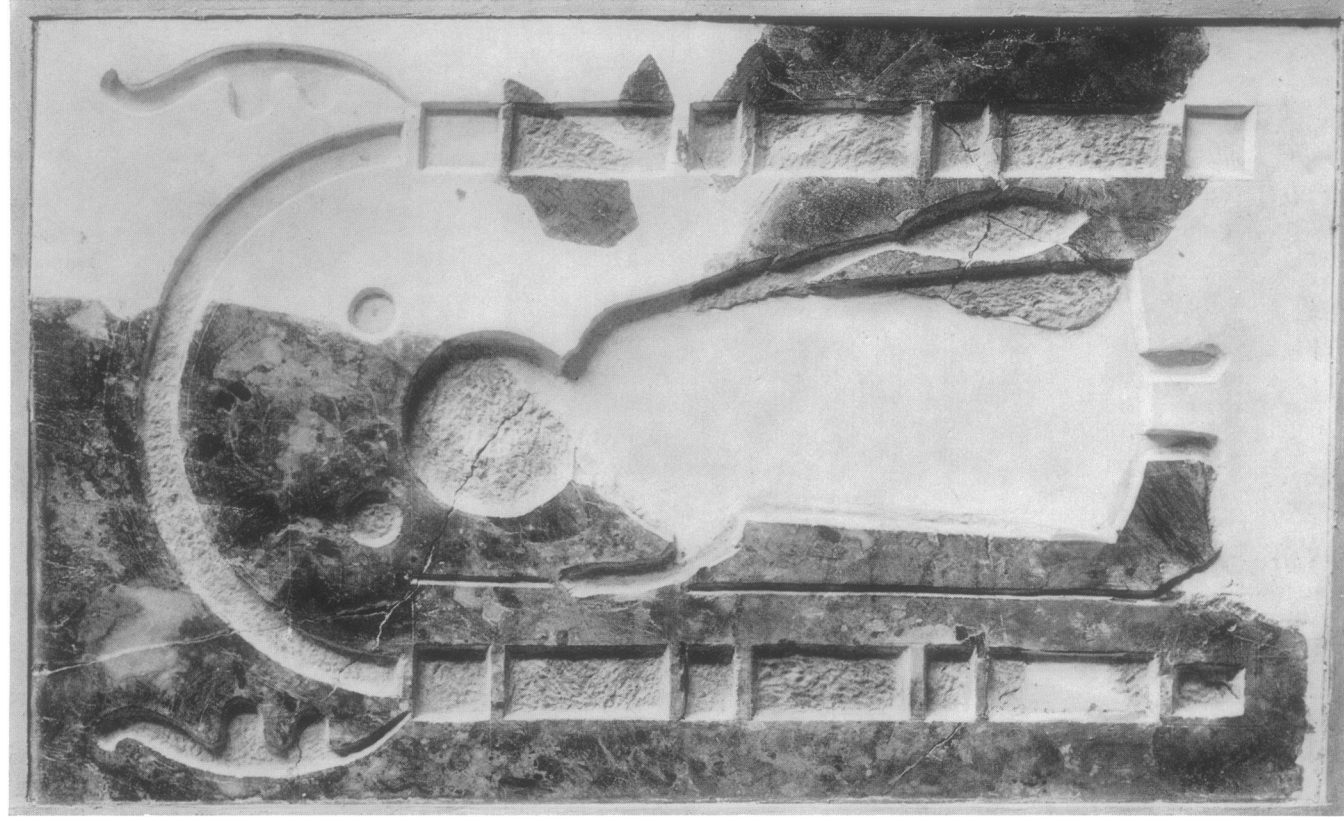
81.



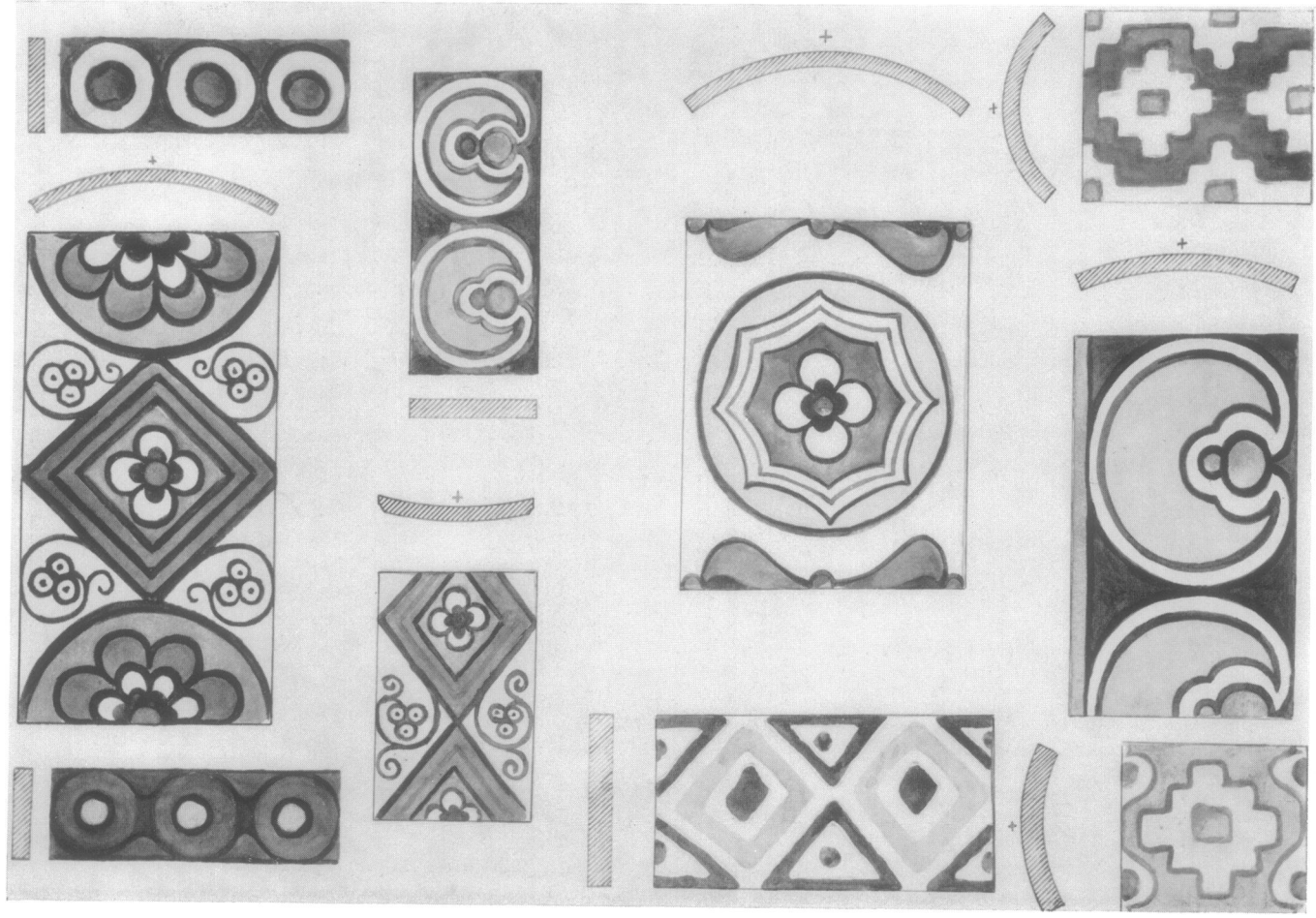
82 A. Circular Icon of St. Nazarius



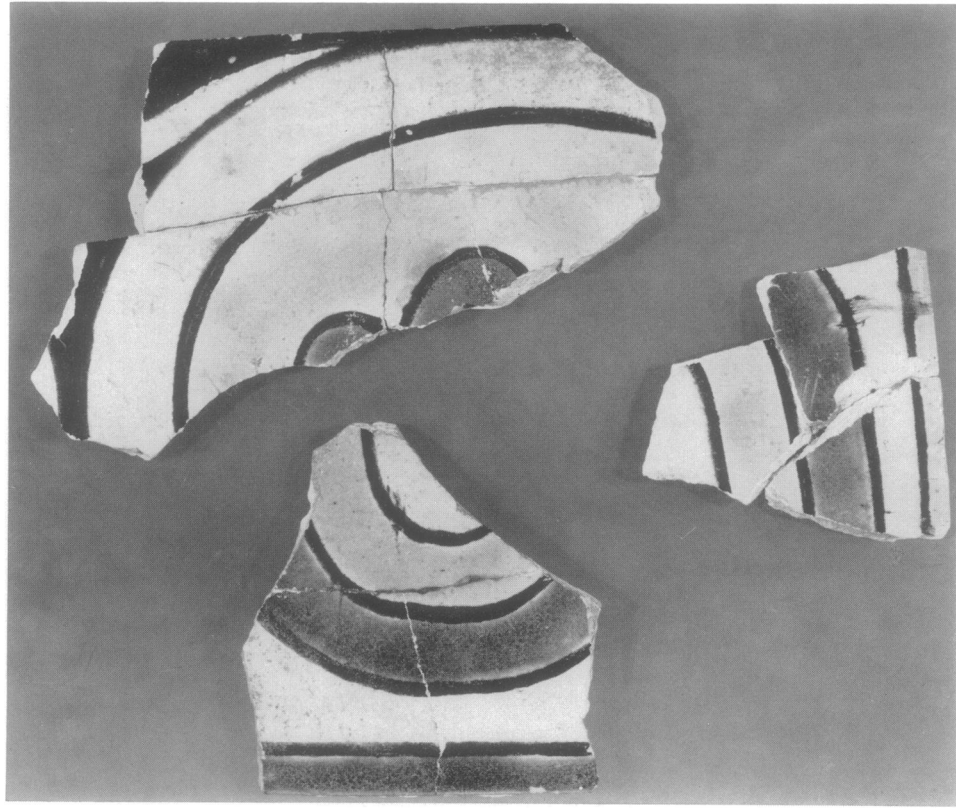
82 B. Circular Plaque representing a Duck



83. Icon of Military Saint



84. Glazed Tiles. Watercolor, by E. Mamboury



85. Athens, Benaki Museum.
Fragments of Glazed Tiles from Monastery of Studios